

Alice E. Freeman
Willisley College

THE TEACHING
OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES

Cambridge

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY M.A. AND SON
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE TEACHING
OF
THE TWELVE APOSTLES

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE TALMUD

Two Lectures

ON AN ANCIENT CHURCH MANUAL DISCOVERED AT
CONSTANTINOPLE

GIVEN AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN ON
MAY 29th AND JUNE 6th 1885

By C. TAYLOR D.D.

MASTER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
DEIGHTON BELL AND CO.
LONDON GEORGE BELL AND SONS
1886



GH8
D561t

9-17-43

TROW BRIDGE

PREFACE.

THE so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is a long-lost ancient Church manual, which on its discovery was assigned to the second century, but which many now hold, not without good reason, to be a genuine relic of the first.

It contains a scheme of moral precepts under the head of the Two Ways of life and death, followed by ordinances relating to the Sacraments and the Ministry of the Church, and these by a striking section on the last things. That it should include no statement or exposition of dogma is in keeping with its supposed early date; such matters being precisely those which would continue longest to be handed down solely by word of mouth.

While it has a certain completeness of outline, it is only a skeleton of the fuller tradition referred to in the New Testament as *The Teaching*. If this still survived, we should find in it much that was eventually incorporated in the Apostolic Epistles, or that would explain things in them now hard to be understood. Our written *Teaching* interprets one obscure saying in the Second Epistle of Peter, and that in such a way as to supply an argument for its priority to the Epistle of Jude.

Whether or not we say with Hilgenfeld that its nucleus is a separate document on the Two Ways, we need not doubt the antiquity of its remaining sections also; while on the other hand some clauses in its opening chapters can scarcely have formed part of the first draft of the manual,

The Greek text is a good one, with some few and slight blemishes which are readily removed; but no light has been thrown by conjectural emendation on any of the less

transparent passages of the *Teaching*. And when we look below the surface, we find that these as they stand are explained and illustrated by the familiar writings of Barnabas and Justin Martyr; and we are led to infer that Barnabas in his Epistle surely drew, if not from our very *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, from a tradition or writing of which it has preserved the original form.

Before the recovery of the lost *Teaching* it had been sometimes identified with the *Apostolical Constitutions*. But Archbishop Usher (1644), with true insight into the conditions of the problem, divined that it must be a much shorter document, not touching at all upon certain matters of the more mystic sort which had found a place in the later and fuller compilation. His complete argument may point to something less than the whole of the extant *Teaching*; but this in its entirety is likewise reticent on matters which it was deemed inexpedient to commit to writing, and is in consequence marked

by a meagreness and inadequacy which led to its disuse in after years; although it had been held in high repute, and one at least of its sayings is found quoted under the name of Scripture.

Grabe (1698) recites and commends the Archbishop's argument, and assigns the *Teaching* to the closing years of the first century or the very commencement of the second.

A full account of the bibliography of the *Διδαχή* has been given by Dr Philip Schaff in his edition of it under the name of *The Oldest Church Manual*.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE,
5th March, 1886.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LECTURE I.	3
LECTURE II.	49
THE TEXT IN ENGLISH	119

And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' Teaching.

ACTS ii. 42.

The faithful word which is according to The Teaching.

TITUS i. 9.

LECTURE I.

THE name of Archbishop Bryennios became suddenly famous in the world of letters when ten years ago he published the first complete edition of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, from a manuscript which he had discovered in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre, in the quarter of Constantinople called Phanar, which is inhabited almost exclusively by Greeks.

For some account of the personality and mode of life of this eminent divine I cannot do better than refer to the short article by Mr Edmund A. Grosvenor near the end of the current May number of the American monthly magazine the *Century*. It has been this gentleman's good fortune to meet the Archbishop on several occasions, and twice (he tells us) he

The MS. has had the rare privilege of glancing over the now celebrated "Jerusalem" manuscript, which contains no less than seven separate writings, the fifth being that which forms the subject of these lectures, The Doctrine, or Teaching, of the Twelve Apostles. We shall refer to this briefly as the *Teaching*, or in Greek, the *Didaché*.

The codex is a small thick volume of one hundred and twenty leaves of vellum, or two hundred and forty pages, measuring about 7.4 inches by 5.8 inches. It was finished "by the hand of Leo, notary and sinner" in the year 6564 A.M., according to the Greek reckoning employed, that is to say in 1056 A.D., which was ten years before the Norman conquest of England, and two years after the division of Christendom into the rival churches of east and west. The *Teaching* is contained on the ten pages of leaves 76—80. But although the manuscript was discovered by Bryennios so long ago as 1873, it was not until 1880 that he realised the importance of what he had found in our long-lost ancient tract. From that time forward he laboured night and day, till in 1883

he issued his learned and scholarly edition, a work written from beginning to end in Greek, not only the text but the notes and introduction being in that language.

The editor, as we learn from a note in M. Bryennios Paul Sabatier's treatise on *La Didache* (Paris 1885), was born in Constantinople in the year 1833, and after completing his theological course in his native city had attended lectures at the Universities of Leipzig, Berlin and Munich. In 1872 he was chosen to represent the Church of Constantinople at the congress of Old Catholics in Bonn, and whilst there was nominated Metropolitan of Serræ in Macedonia. Two years later he was promoted to the see of Nicomedia, over which he still presides as Metropolitan.

Since the publication of his *editio princeps* the foremost theologians of the day have discussed and commented upon the *Teaching*, and it has been the subject of so many articles in our magazines and reviews, that I may leave many things about it unsaid as having been already well said, and shall thus be the freer to devote myself to the task of

breaking new ground in the hours at my disposal. I shall accordingly approach it from a special point of view, making it my endeavour to throw fresh light upon it by occasional illustrations from ancient Jewish sources.

Jewish
Fathers

A collection of the choicest sayings of the Jewish Fathers commences with the three "Words" spoken by the men of the Great Synagogue: *Be deliberate in judgment; And raise up many disciples; And make a fence to the Law.* The third Word is one to which I shall refer in illustration of our third chapter: the first supplies a wholesome caution to us in our dealing with the whole.

The *Teaching* has been not inaptly described as "a sort of Church Catechism intensely Jewish". It is divided by its editors into sixteen chapters, none of them long, some extremely short. This first lecture will be devoted to chapters I.—VI., which are complete in themselves, and are possibly a reproduction of some treatise on the "two ways", of life and of death, which is much older than the *Teaching* in its entirety. I shall first comment on these chapters as they stand, but shall give reasons

for thinking that a few clauses, especially in the first chapter, may not properly belong to their original form. The second title given in the manuscript, namely,

The Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles,

has been thought by some to designate these chapters only. In any case it points to the Jewish origin of the document, or of the part of it to which it refers.

I. *What thou hatest do to no man.*

The work commences with the statement :

There are two ways, one of life and one of death ; and there is much difference between the two ways ; Chap. I.

reminding us of various passages of Holy Scripture, such as the saying of the Lord in Jeremiah xxi. 8 : " Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death ; " and, in profane literature, of the Greek story of the Judgment of Hercules, to which some early Christian Fathers refer in illustration of the doctrine of the two ways.

It continues :

Now the way of life is this: First, thou shalt love God that made thee; Secondly, thy neighbour as thyself; And all things whatsoever thou wouldest should not happen to thee, neither do thou to another.

This word "not", this negative form of the Golden Rule, shews that the *Teaching* requires to be illustrated from Jewish sources. The positive form of it is better known to us, as being found in two of the four Gospels. In St Matthew's it stands in close connexion with the doctrine of the two ways, thus: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets. Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matt. vii. 12—14). In St Luke's it runs thus: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (Luke vi. 31). But

the negative form of the rule is older than the Gospels, and was current among the Jews before they were composed.

This is a matter which needs careful consideration.

It is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud, Hillel in the tract on the Sabbath (fol. 31 *a*), that a heathen once came to Shammai to be made a proselyte on condition that he might be taught the whole Law whilst he stood on one foot. Shammai drove him away, and he went and put the same question to Hillel, who promptly replied: "What to thyself is hateful to thy neighbour thou shalt not do; this is the whole Law, and the rest is commentary." Much credit has been given to Hillel as presumably the author of this saying; whilst some have declined to believe that he ever uttered it, on the ground that the Talmud was not written down till centuries after the Gospels, and that its testimony is therefore not to be relied on.

Against the one and the other of these extreme views we submit that there is evidence to shew that he may have spoken it, but on the other hand that he was not the author of it, for

others had said the same before him. The precept is to be found in the fourth chapter of the apocryphal book of Tobit*, in the form: "What thou hatest do to *no one*." Tobit is older than Hillel, but Hillel's form of the saying is clearly older than Tobit's, and it is easy to see how it sprang, doubtless, out of the Decalogue. For this says: "Thou shalt not murder, commit adultery, steal, shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbour's." What are all these things which thou shalt not do to thy neighbour? The happy thought occurred to some forgotten Rabbi, that it is all comprehended in the two words, *what-to-thyself is-hateful*. Thus the origin of the saying is accounted for, and its description as the sum total of the Law. It

* Also in the *Confucian Analects* (c. 400 B.C.), where we read that: "Tsze-kung asked, saying, Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life? The Master said, Is not Reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others" (Book XV. 23. Cf. V. 11); and in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (chap. XIII. 3, 4), attributed to the grandson of Confucius, where it is added: "...to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained." See Dr Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. I. pp. 16], 36 49], and 41, 165, 258. (Hongkong and London 1861.)

was current before Hillel's time, and the fact that he in particular used it accordingly loses much of its significance, and any superstructure based upon the assumption that he invented it falls to the ground. But the fact remains that it was already in use as a Jewish saying; and its occurrence in the first part of the *Teaching* may be taken as evidence of the antiquity of that document, of its independence (in its original form) of our written Gospels, and of its Jewish character. St Paul in Rom. xiii. 10 superadds love as the principle of action to the precept: Work no ill to thy neighbour: this is the whole Law.

2. *Let thine alms sweat into thine hands.*

Purposing to return to the intermediate clauses in due course, I pass on now to the strange and difficult saying on almsgiving at the end of the first chapter, where it stands, as below, in contrast with the injunction to give freely of that which we have freely received:

Give to every one that asketh of thee, and ask not back; for the Father wills that to all there

be given of our own free-gifts...But concerning this it hath also been said, Let thine alms sweat into thine hands, till thou know to whom to give.

It is not enough that a man should give without effort of his abundance: let him give
Sweat of his *toil*, for that is the significance of sweat. He should fill his hands with his sweat, he should make provision out of the produce of his labour, whilst ever on the watch for fit persons to whom to give. In the same sense St Paul writes to the Ephesians: "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather *let him labour*, working with his hands the thing that is good, *that he may have whereof to give to him that hath need*" (Eph. iv. 28). The use of the word sweat in this interpretation may be illustrated from the Greek comic poet Aristophanes, one of whose characters in the *Ecclesiazusæ* is made to say: "For I will not thus foolishly cast away my sweat and savings... till I know how the whole matter stands." Here "sweat" denotes the means acquired by painful labour; and so in the *Teaching* it is his sweat, the produce of his toil, that a man is enjoined to give away in alms.

I will now go back and indicate how I was first led to interpret the saying in this way. It is introduced by the formula of citation, "It is said," as if it ranked with words of Holy Scripture. It is not indeed Scripture, but may it not have some Scriptural basis? With one text, and one only, it is possible to connect it: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread" (Gen. iii. 19). Let two examples from the Babylonian Talmud suffice to indicate how much was made of that saying by the ancient Rabbis.

In the tract *Berakoth* (fol. 57 *b*) we read that one of the six favourable symptoms in an invalid is sweat, for it is said, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt *eat* bread." Sweat, the symbol of labour, is also the sign of returning appetite. Thus a connexion is established between health and labour.

In the tract *Pesachim* (fol. 118 *a*) the same text is again made use of, and a new moral is drawn from it. The earth being cursed for man's sake, God said to Adam, "Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field." There-

upon his eyes filled with tears, and he said, Lord of the world, must I and my ass eat at one crib? The answer is, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat *bread*." The labour of cultivation can alone transform the crude produce of the earth into food fit for man. No sweat, no culture. By labour he must raise himself from the condition of the brute to the higher life. For sweat connotes toil generally, not excluding labour of the brain, in which sense it is used in 2 Macc. ii. 26: "Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging [the five books of Jason of Cyrene's history in one], it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching."

A strong confirmation of the interpretation to which we have been thus led presents itself in the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*, a later work itself founded on the *Teaching*, in which St Thomas is made to say: "My child, him that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord...thou shalt honour according to thy ability, of thy sweat and of the labour of thy hands." A Coptic version reads: "of the sweat of thy face and of the labour of thy hands,"

thus plainly pointing to the verse of Genesis with which we started.

The dignity of "sweat" is eloquently set forth in a passage of the pseudo-Athanasius *De Virginitate* (Migne xxviii. 273), which is analogous to the precept under discussion, and may have been founded upon it, there being good reason to think that the writer was acquainted with the *Teaching*. As deeds of mercy should be the outcome of sweat, so the kingdom of heaven is won by it: "For the kingdom of heaven is not theirs that take their rest here, but theirs who have lived this life in much affliction and straitness; for they that have received it received it not for naught, but with great toils and noble sweatings did they that shewed themselves worthy possess it."

A still more direct and decisive illustration is afforded by a passage pointed out to me by Mr Rendel Harris in the pseudo-Athanasian *Quæstiones ad Antiochum Ducem* (Q. 88, Migne xxviii. 651) which reads like a paraphrase of the contrasted sayings on almsgiving in the first chapter of the *Teaching*. The question pro-

pounded being, whether almsgiving can atone for every sin of man, or not, in reply it is said : "There is sin and sin, and there is almsgiving and almsgiving...And of one kind is the reward of the labourer*, who out of his own sweat shews compassion ; but quite another is that of the ruler, who gives from endowments and revenues."

Ecclus.
xii. 1

It remains to notice the alleged contradiction between the commands, to give to every one that asketh, and to labour "till thou know to whom to give". The contradiction is only apparent, for from the strictest interpretation of the injunction to give indiscriminately on demand of that which one possesses it does not follow that a man should labour with intent to give except to the needy and deserving. If he must submit to have his cloak taken from him, he is not therefore to purchase a cloak with intent to be robbed of it. St Paul writes, Let him labour that he may have whereof to give, not to every one that asketh, but to him

* καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου ἐξ ἰδίου ἰδρώτος ποιούν-
τος συμπάθειαν, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δώρων καὶ προσόδων
παρέχοντος.

“that hath need”. In this way the injunction to give freely is again limited in the Second Commandment of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which ^{Hermas} amalgamates the contrasted precepts of our first chapter, and adds a warning against hesitation from the fourth: “Work the thing that is good, and of thy *toils** which God giveth thee give to all *that lack*, in simplicity, not doubting to whom thou shouldest give, or to whom not give. Give to all; for to all God wills that there be given of a man’s own gifts.”

In full accord with this is the teaching of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, in one book of which we read: “...for to all the Father wills that there be given, who maketh his sun to rise on wicked and good, and raineth his rain upon just and unjust. To all then it is just to give of one’s own proper labours; for, Honour (saith he) the Lord from thy just labours; but let first honour be paid to the saints” (VII. 1);

* He expresses, *Let thine alms sweat &c.*, in terms of Eph. iv. 28: “...let him toil, working with his hands the thing that is good.” Compare Acts xx. 35. The phrase, “toils which God giveth,” is clearly composite, and refers to two distinct sayings.

and in another book of the same: "For it is right to do good to all men, not charily judging what an one this or that may be. For the Lord saith, To everyone that asketh of thee give; that is, manifestly, to him that needeth in reality, whether he be friend or foe, of kin or a stranger, unmarried or married" (III. 4). The former passage being followed immediately* by, *Thou shalt not murder, &c.*, from the second chapter of the *Teaching*, the injunction, to give of one's labours but to give preference to the saints (Gal. vi. 10), exactly fits into the place of the saying, *Let thine alms sweat...till thou know to whom to give*, with which so late a writer as the compiler must have been acquainted.

*Let thine
alms sweat*

But if he paraphrases *sweat* by "labour", we are confirmed in the opinion that Hermas has done likewise, and that he already had the same saying of the *Teaching* before him.

3. *Early Jewish manual of the Two Ways.*

Although a trace of the saying, "Let thine alms sweat into thine hands," has been detected in the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*,

* Προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους. Οὐ φονεύσεις κ.τ.λ.

this was not in the context in which we should have sought it, but in connexion with matter taken from the fourth chapter of the *Teaching*.

And not only this saying but the greater part of chapter I., from the words, "Bless them that curse you," to the end, and likewise the opening clause of chapter II., are wanting in their place in the latter document, where we read:

Short form
of chap. I.

"John said, There are two ways, one of life and one of death; and there is much difference between the two ways. Now the way of life is this: First, thou shalt love God that made thee with thy whole heart, and shalt glorify him that redeemed thee from death; which is the first commandment. Secondly, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; which is the second commandment: on which hang all the law and the prophets.

Matthew said, All things whatsoever thou wouldest not have happen to thee, neither do thou to another. *Tell thou the teaching of these words*, brother Peter.

Peter said, Thou shalt not murder, shalt not commit adultery, shalt not commit fornication, &c."

Latin
Version.

The same clauses are wanting in the fragment of a Latin version of the *Teaching* published by Bernhard Pez, librarian of the Benedictine Abbey of Mönk in Austria, in the last century, where the sequence is again : *Omne autem quod tibi vis non fieri alii ne feceris. Interpretatio autem horum verborum hæc est. Non mæchaberis, non homicidium facies, &c.*

If accordingly we read, *The teaching of these words is this... Thou shalt not kill, &c.*, omitting all that stands between in our present text, we bring the Golden Rule into direct connexion with the series of negative commandments of which it is the summing up, and which are themselves, conversely, the expansion of the rule ; and we may then say, that the love of God is manifested through the love of man made in his image* (James iii. 9 ; 1 Joh. iv. 20), and this by obedience to the rule which Hillel, and by implication St Paul, describe as the sum total of the Law.

* According to the Palestinian Talmud (*Nedarim* ix. 4), Ben Azzai said that the creation of man in the likeness of God (Gen. v. 1) is more comprehensive in its significance than the great principle of the Torah : "Thou shalt love thy neighbour [only] as thyself."

The intermediate clauses give an appearance of symmetry to the opening chapters, but do not comprise a special and distinct exposition of the "first commandment", such as we are led to desiderate by the clause at the commencement of chapter II., which marks it off by way of contrast as a development of the "second commandment of the teaching"; nor is it without significance that the substance of that chapter is not so designated in the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Counsels of perfection, again, do not come naturally before such rudimentary teaching as, *Thou shalt not kill, steal, bear false witness*, but should assuredly follow: "All these things have I observed: what lack I yet?" (Matt. xix. 20). The duty of almsgiving is dealt with in due course in the fourth chapter, and there was no need to inculcate it in the first also, where it comes out of its proper order. Lastly, these clauses are for the most part comparatively diffuse in style, and on that account also read like later additions to the original document. They are of the nature of free citations from the Sermon on the Mount; and when they are omitted there

*Apost.
Const.*

*Alms-
giving*

remains little or nothing distinctively Christian in the first part of the *Teaching*.

We are thus led to postulate the existence of an earlier form of manual of the Two Ways, of Jewish character and possibly pre-Christian in date, on which our chapters I.—VI. were framed, and from which, in their final form, they differ mainly by the addition of the longer paragraphs of chapter I., and of some clauses perhaps in chapter IV. The saying, *Let thine alms sweat into thine hands*, which has been brought into its present context from some extraneous source, may possibly, in an earlier form of the document, have stood in connexion with the sayings on almsgiving in our fourth chapter. The precepts of the supposed original being in so great measure negative, some Christian editor of the *Teaching* was led to supplement them by a more advanced doctrine, taken from some form of the Gospel, *Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast ye for them that persecute you...* The added matter does not purport to be an exposition of the first commandment in particular, and it is possible that the reference to the

Additions
from the
Gospel

“second” in chapter II. was an afterthought. But in all this it becomes us to be “deliberate in judgment”, according to the first saying of the men of the Great Synagogue. I pass on to explain their third saying, which is required to illustrate chapter III.

4. *Flee from evil and all that is like it.*

“Make a fence to the Law.” Keep at a ^{Fence to the Law} safe distance from forbidden ground. Given the caution that some precious and fragile work in one of our art galleries is not to be touched, it is not safe till it is fenced about so that the throng cannot come quite close to it. The parent who would keep his child out of danger will be careful to keep him at a distance from it. Now, turning to chapter III., we read :

My child, flee from all evil, and from all that is like to it ;

and the following clauses, which are developed out of this far-reaching precept, are injunctions to make “fences” to the several commandments, *Thou shalt not kill, commit adultery, steal, bear false witness against thy neighbour.*

First, to shew that the precept is a characteristic Jewish saying. In the tract *Chullin* of the Babylonian Talmud (fol. 44 *b*) it is found in the form, *Get thee far from evil and from that which is like to it**; the word for "evil" denoting what is ill favoured or unsightly, as in the phrase, "Beauteous Torah in vile vessel" (*T. B. Nedarim* 50 *b*), which corresponds to a well known saying of St Paul (2 Cor. iv. 7). Since it would not occur to anyone to use this peculiar word for "evil" in translating into Hebrew, a presumption arises that, if there is an interdependence between the two forms of the precept, it is the Hebrew rather than the Greek which should be regarded as the original.

An application of the saying is found in the second chapter of the *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan, where it is introduced under the head of the doctrine of the fence. There it is shewn that the Law or Pentateuch makes a fence to its words when it says, "Thou shalt not *approach unto*" this or that forbidden thing. Thou shalt

* הרחק מן הביעור ומן הדומה לו.

not come nigh unto the thing that brings into the hands of transgression. "Flee from evil, and from that which is like to evil." Therefore did the sages say, Flee from a slight sin, lest it bring thee to a grave sin: hasten to perform a trivial duty that it may bring thee to a great one. Moses likewise is shewn to have made a fence to his words, as also Hezekiah, and the Prophets, and the Book of Proverbs, and Job. Job was "perfect and upright, one who feared God, and departed from evil". If he feared God, what need to add that he departed from evil? It means that he kept himself at a distance from things that bring into the hands of transgression, and from evil, *and from that which is like to evil*. Let us now notice how the saying is worked out in the *Teaching*.

Examples
of Fence

A fence is first made to the sixth commandment:

Be not prone to anger, for anger leads the way to murder; nor a zealot, nor contentious, nor passionate; for from all these murders are begotten;

anger and passion being regarded as things

like unto sin and on the verge of it, which lead to actual transgression of the commandment, *Thou shalt do no murder.*

A two-fold fence is next made to the seventh commandment, the literal transgression of which is first dealt with, and afterwards idolatry, of which such transgression is the symbol :

My child, be not given to augury, since it leadeth to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a user of purifications; neither be thou willing to look thereon; for from all these idolatry is begotten.

Next comes a singular saying on the eighth commandment, to which we shall have occasion to recur :

My child, be not a liar, since lying leadeth to theft; nor a lover of money, nor vainglorious; for from all these thefts are begotten;

and the series ends with precautions against "blasphemy", which is or includes the transgression of the ninth commandment, the tenth not lending itself to this mode of treatment, since it is itself of the nature of a fence.

5. *Lying leads to theft.*

The warning against falsehood as leading to a breach of the eighth commandment is remarkable, inasmuch as it reverses the natural order, according to which theft leads to lying ^{Theft leads to lying.} for the purpose of concealing the theft (Levit. vi. 2—4). This difficulty was felt by the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, who omits the saying in its place, but illustrates the eighth commandment by the examples of Gehazi the servant of Elisha, who stole *and lied*, and of Judas, who having first purloined the provision of the poor afterwards betrayed the Lord of glory. But it is the singularity of the saying that makes it the more decisively useful for the purpose to which I shall put it, the purpose, namely, of approximating to the date of the document to which it belongs by further comparison of it with another early document, the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

First, I shall endeavour to trace the idea of the saying to a Jewish source.

The Jewish division of the *Decalogue* is different from ours. We place four of the Ten *Words* (Exod. xxxiv. 28) on the first table and

Division of
Decalogue

six on the second, whilst the Jews from of old divide them equally, placing five on each. The first Word, or divine utterance, according to their reckoning, is, "I am the Lord thy God:" the next, "Thou shalt have none other gods beside me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image &c.," including what we call the first commandment together with the second; and it is said in the *Mekiltha*, an ancient commentary on the book of Exodus: "How were the Ten Words given? five on this table, and five on that," each over against each. It was written, *I am the Lord thy God*; and opposite to it, *Thou shalt not murder*, to wit, man made in the image of God (Gen. ix. 6). It was written, *Thou shalt have none other gods beside me*; and opposite to it, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, which is the symbol of strange worship (Ezek. xvi. 32; Hosea iii. 1). It was written, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain*; and opposite to it, *Thou shalt not steal*. "It shews that whosoever steals will at length come to false swearing, for it is said: Will ye *steal*, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely?" (Jerem. vii. 9).

But a second proof-text is given, in which lying comes before stealing, thus: "By swearing, and *lying*, and killing, *and stealing*" (Hosea iv. 2); and this is also the order in which the corresponding commandments stand in the first and second tables respectively*.

We can now perhaps trace the strange saying of the *Teaching* to its source. The author, being a Jew, was familiar with the comparison of theft and lying, and had set himself to make a fence to the negative commandments from the sixth onward. Anger leads to murder: lust to adultery. What leads in like manner to the breach of the eighth commandment? "My child, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft"—an artificial, not to say perverse precept, which fits so well into its place in the series of sayings on the Decalogue, because it was studiously selected, if not invented, for the purpose.

Accordingly, when we find Clement of Alexandria citing it in these terms: "Such a

* For the remainder of the extract from the *Mekiltha* see *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 136 (1877). See also Zech. v. 3 and Ecclus. xx. 25.

Teaching
quoted as
Scripture

person is called a thief by the Scripture. Indeed it saith, *My son, be not a liar, for lying leadeth to theft*" (*Stromateis* lib. I. 20); we may infer that he had not only that saying but its context before him, and that he was quoting the work from which it was taken under the name of Holy Scripture. This of itself is proof that the work in question, that is probably the *Teaching* in its entirety, but in any case the first part of it, was already of some age when Clement, who was born about 150—160 A.D., wrote; for it would not have been thus placed on a level with Scripture immediately after it was written. Assuming on these grounds that it was not written many years after the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which belongs to the first half of the second century, I shall now submit to you an argument from the same saying which goes to prove that of the two works the *Shepherd* is the later.

In his Third Commandment Hermas discourses on the love of truth as follows:

"Again he said unto me, Love truth, and let nothing but truth proceed out of thy mouth;

so that the spirit which God hath fixed in this flesh may be found true among all men; and thus the Lord who dwelleth in thee shall be glorified. Because the Lord is true in all his words, and in him there is no lie. *They therefore who lie* set at nought the Lord, and are robbers of the Lord, not delivering up to him the deposit which they received, for they received from him a spirit free from lies. If they shall return that to him made false, they have polluted the commandment of the Lord, and *have become robbers.*"

Hermas
on, *Lying*
leads to
theft

Here he is clearly harping upon the saying that, *Lying leads to theft*, which he sets to work in an artificial way to illustrate and justify. The spirit of man is a sacred deposit, one day to be returned to God who gave it: he who corrupts it by lying will have filched away something from that deposit: consequently "they that lie have become robbers". The coincidence is of such a nature that, on a bare comparison of the two writings, the priority must be assigned to the *Teaching*; and this conclusion is confirmed by the organic relation of the "fence" against theft to its context in

that document. Add to this that it may well have been known to Hermas as a saying of authority, if it was quoted as Scripture by another writer, Clement of Alexandria, who himself lived in the second century.

Date of
Teaching

This brings us to the great question about the date of the *Teaching*, Does it belong to the second century, or to the first? Is it absolutely the oldest Christian writing extant, with the exception of portions, and portions only, of the New Testament itself?

At first the later date was assigned to it; but scholars of the first rank are now found who claim a higher antiquity for it, and place it in the first century of our era. Its discoverer Bryennios, as we have seen, was seven years finding out what a hid treasure of antiquity had fallen into his hands; and when three years later he gave his edition of it to the world, he was led to place it later than the *Shepherd* and the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas*, from which he assumed rather than proved that it had copied. He was still too mistrustful of its value, and scarcely dared to think that it could be older than those famous and venerable works.

If these can indeed be shewn to be actual sources of the *Teaching*, its composition must be assigned to the second century ; but if this be, as I think, not proven, then, whether Barnabas and Hermas copied from the *Teaching*, or all three from a still earlier source or sources, it remains so far an open question whether it dates from the second century or from the first.

6. *The Epistle of Barnabas.*

The *Epistle* has so much in common with the *Teaching* that a full comparison of the two in the course of a lecture is impracticable ; but I may be allowed to give occasional hints pointing to the conclusion that the work of Barnabas is not one of the sources of the *Teaching*. An argument in that sense, which I venture to think of a decisive character, will be given further on, under the head of the fifth chapter, on "the way of death". Here I may remark that he seems, in his fourth chapter, to be referring to various passages in chapters II.—XVI. of the *Teaching*, and in particular to the precept, *Flee from all evil, and from all that is like unto it*, when he writes : "Let us

See on
ch. XVI.



flee then completely from all the works of lawlessness...Let us not give indulgence to our soul, so that it have power to run together with sinners and wicked men, *lest we be made like unto them.*" Having still in mind, doubtless, the prohibition of things "like" to evil, he reiterates his caution not to be made like to sinners in the tenth chapter of his *Epistle*.

But I must pass on to a characteristic saying in our fourth chapter, of which the origin remains to be determined.

7. *Where the Lordship is proclaimed there the Lord is.*

In the fourth chapter, which opens thus :

Chap. IV. *My child, him that proclaimeth unto thee the word of God thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord; for whencesoever the Lordship is proclaimed, there the Lord is;*

the *Teaching* still keeps up its Hebraic character. Night is mentioned before day, as in the Mosaic cosmogony; and the precept to honour a teacher as the Lord may be abundantly illustrated from Jewish sources.

For example, in the fourth section of the Mishnah tract entitled *Aboth*, or the *Fathers*, we read: "Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate, and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master, and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven;" and elsewhere in the Talmud it is said, that "he who disputes with his master is as if he disputed with the Shekinah" (*T. B. Sanhedrin* 110a). Many such illustrations might be given; but perhaps the most striking is the following, with which we shall conclude, from the tract *Pesachim* of the Babylonian Talmud (fol. 22 b).

There is a particle *eth* in Hebrew, which serves as a prefix to the objective case, and to which no separate significance can be assigned. But since it happens to be identical in form with a preposition meaning *σύν* or *with*, an eminent Rabbi contended that this sense should always be superadded to it, and he made it his business to explain it in that way wherever it occurs in the Bible. In due course he came upon a text which a translator after his own heart would have rendered, regardless

of grammar: "Thou shalt fear *σὺν τὸν θεόν*" — thou shalt fear not God alone, but others along with him. But this would contravene the second word of the Decalogue, and was not to be thought of. It was a *reductio ad absurdum* of his rule of interpretation, which he was accordingly on the point of abandoning. Then

R. Akiba came Rabbi Akiba, and explained this also.

It meant that scholars of the wise are to honour their teachers coordinately with God. The disciple is to go even to the verge of idolatry in honouring his master as the Lord.

The reason given for this in the *Teaching* is as follows: "for whence the Lordship is spoken, there the Lord is." In the *Apostolical Constitutions* this takes the simpler and less idiomatic form: "for where the teaching concerning God is, there God is present." Following the clew given by this paraphrase we are led, as it will be shewn, by way of a series of Rabbinical sayings to a text from the Pentateuch on which the saying now under discussion may have been founded.

But first, what is the meaning of the *Lordship*? The word as here used is unique,

for it manifestly does not denote the style or title of *a* lord and master, with the indefinite article, as in other places where the same form of word occurs, but is derived from the expression "*the* Lord", with the definite article, which stands in the Septuagint and in the New Testament in place of "the incommunicable name" (Wisdom xiv. 21). And what is it, in Hebrew phrase, that can be revealed or predicated concerning the Lord? The phrase, "the Name of the Lord," as used for instance in the Lord's Prayer, covers all that can be known, thought or spoken about him; and this expression consequently includes all that is meant by "the Lordship" in the saying which we are attempting to trace to its original source*.

The above-mentioned paraphrase of this, namely, *Where the teaching concerning God is, there God is present*, exactly agrees with a favourite principle of the Jewish Fathers, that those

* In Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the Biblical names of God are not used, the expression "the Name" (Levit. xxiv. 11) may stand as an equivalent for "the Lord", thus: "...the Name, blessed be he, created the world by wisdom, and by understanding, and by knowledge, as it is said (Prov. iii. 19, 20), *The LORD by wisdom founded the earth &c.*" (R. Israel on *Aboth* chap. I., end).

who sit and occupy themselves with words of "Thorah", that is, the Law of the Lord, have the Shekinah amongst them. At the end of a series of sayings to that effect, in connexion with the numbers of *ten, five, three* and *two* persons so assembled, it is asked in the third chapter of the tract *Aboth*, What is the evidence that the divine Presence will be vouchsafed even to *one*, who sits alone and meditates on the Law? and a proof is given from Exodus xx. 24: "In all places where I shall cause
The Name mention to be made of my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." Where the name of the Lord is uttered, where the Lordship is proclaimed, there the Lord is.

These are of course applications which go beyond the primary meaning of the text employed, as will at once appear when it is read in its entirety: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." It is used in the tract *Aboth* with an artificial stress on the

singular pronoun "thee"; although it serves rather to illustrate the saying: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 20). First the assemblage in the Name: then the divine Presence. Conversely, according to the *Teaching*, where the Name is named, whencesoever proclamation is made of it, there the Lord must be. The Teacher from whom the doctrine of the "Lordship" proceeds must be one on whom the Shekinah rests, since the revelation of God can only proceed from him who is its source, as it is written: "And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord" (Exod. xxxiv. 5).

This is a place in which Barnabas departs ^{Barnabas} widely from the *Teaching*. A writer of his way of thinking could not say, Honour thy teacher as the Lord, but only, Love him. He has unbounded confidence in his own spiritual insight and power to enlighten, but will not claim for himself, nor concede to any, a position of dignity as teacher. "I then," writes he in his opening chapter, "not as a teacher, but as one of your-

selves, will shew forth a few things." We may be sure therefore that he would not here have reproduced the exact words of the *Teaching* if he had had them before him, nor would it be difficult to account for his giving them the particular turn that he does : "Thou shalt love *as the apple** of thine eye every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord." Mark his phrase "*every one* that speaketh unto thee", which serves to exclude the recognition of a class of persons who are teachers *ex officio*. Further arguments for the priority of the *Teaching* to the *Epistle* arise on the consideration of other clauses of this chapter, and specially of its penultimate clause, which he gives part here and part there, writing near the commencement of his nineteenth chapter, *Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord*, and towards the end of it, *Thou shalt keep what thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away*.

8. *The Way of Death.*

The fourth chapter concludes the exposition

* κόρη for Κύριος.

of the way of life, and the fifth consists of a catalogue of evil things and evil men appertaining to the way of death, with a prayer or admonition against them, corresponding to the petition, *Deliver us from evil*:

But the way of death is this. First of all Chap. v.
it is evil and full of curse. Murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, sorceries, witchcrafts, ravenings, false witnessings, hypocrisies, doubleness of heart, guile, arrogance, malice, selfwill, greed, impure speech, jealousy, presumption, haughtiness, braggery. Persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to that which is good neither to just judgment, watchful not unto that which is good but unto that which is evil, far from whom are meekness and patience, loving vain things, following after reward, not pitying the poor man, not travailing for him that is distressed, not knowing him that made them, slayers of children, destroyers of God's workmanship, turning aside from him that is in need, distressing him that is afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless

judges of the poor, altogether sinful. May ye be delivered, children, from all these.

Style of Teaching The grammatical form of the chapter, rugged as it is and Hebraic, makes for the opinion that the *Teaching* emanates from a Jewish source. Notice the abrupt way in which the series of evil things, *Murders, adulteries, &c.* is introduced*, and the suddenness of the transition from these to evil men, *Persecutors of the good, &c.*, of which an apt illustration may be found in the sixth chapter of the *Jewish Fatherst*.

A Greek scribe or compiler of later date would be tempted to improve upon such constructions, as is actually done in the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, where our fifth chapter takes the form: "But the way of death is *exhibited in evil deeds. For in it is ignorance of God and superinduction of many*

* Πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρas μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχείαι, κ.τ.λ.

† "And the Torah is acquired by forty and eight things. And these are they: By learning, by a listening ear, by ordered speech,...by a good heart, by faith in the wise, by acceptance of chastisements; He that knows his place, and rejoices in his portion, and that makes a fence to his words, &c."

gods; through whom are murders, adulteries,... braggery, irreverence, *persecution* of the good, hatred of truth, love of falsehood, ignorance of righteousness. *For the doers of these things* cleave not to good neither to just judgment,... advocates of the rich, contemners of the poor, altogether sinful. May ye be delivered, children, from all these." Here we see how a confessedly later writer has dealt with the syntax of the *Teaching*, where it seemed to him to be defective; but, in default of all other evidence, this alone would have proved him to be a later writer.

The same argument applies to Barnabas, altered by Barnabas whose twentieth chapter tallies with the fifth of the *Teaching*. By the interpolation of one clause he gives plain proof that he is not the original author of the description of the way of death, or darkness, or the Black One: "But the way of blackness is crooked and full of curse. *For it is a way of death eternal with punishment, in which are the things that destroy men's soul.* Idolatry, presumption, haughtiness of power, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart,... sorcery, greed, irreverence. Persecutors of the

good,...lawless judges of the poor, altogether sinful." The general agreement between the two writings might be explained on the hypothesis that either draws from the other, or both from some common source. But the clause, *For it is a way...in which are the things that destroy men's soul*, forbids us to suppose that the *Teaching* has drawn from the *Epistle*. It is Barnabas who is the copyist, and he cites in his free way and from memory, and adds words of his own to lead up to the list of evil things which comes in with such abruptness in the *Teaching*. The document which he quotes is either the *Teaching* itself, or one of which it has here preserved the original form.

Hebrew
Two Ways

The question nevertheless presents itself, Was there a still older written or oral form of this description of the way of death in Hebrew?

It is related in *Aboth* (chap. II.) of Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai, who "received the tradition from Hillel and Shammai", that he put it to his five principal disciples to say what was the good way that a man should cleave to. These having answered severally, A good eye: A

good companion : A good neighbour : He that foresees what is to be : A good heart,—it is further related that he said to them, *Go and see what is the evil way that a man should shun. R. Liezer said, An evil eye : and R. Jehoshua said, An evil companion : and R. Jose said, An evil neighbour : and R. Shimeon said, He that borroweth and repayeth not :...R. Lazar* said, An evil heart. He said to them, I approve the words of Eleazar...rather than your words, for your words are included in his words,*

If the Law was summed up negatively in the Golden Rule, as quoted by Hillel ; and if its 613 commandments were gathered up successively under *eleven*, *six*, and *three* heads, and finally by Rab Nachman bar Isaac under *one*† ; the answers of the five disciples of Rabban Jochanan may be thought to presuppose a detailed description (as in the *Teaching*) of the evil way, which each of them attempted to sum up in a word. The allied description of the good way would enumerate the characteristics of such as “walk by the Spirit”.

* Lazar (Lazarus) is a colloquial form of Eleazar.

† See *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 122.

Compare
Galat. v.
14—26

9. *Comparison with the Acts of the Apostles.*

One short chapter more concludes the first part of the *Teaching*:

Chap. VI. *Take heed that no one make thee to err from this way of teaching*, since he would be teaching thee not according to God. For if indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord thou shalt be perfect. But if thou art not able do what thou canst. But concerning food, bear what thou art able; but beware exceedingly of that which is sacrificed to idols; for it is a service of dead gods.*

The Jewish character of the manual is here again most plainly marked. It will not be too exacting in its requirements, but will push tolerance to its furthest verge, laying only such burdens on the disciple as he is able to bear; and yet no compromise can be permitted in the matter of things sacrificed to idols.

This brings us to a comparison with the Acts of the Apostles, the fifteenth chapter of which

* Compare in *Aboth* chap. VI.: "This is the *way of Thorah*: A morsel with salt shalt thou eat; Thou shalt drink also water by measure, &c."

contains the record of a great controversy that divided the infant Church, and the decree of the apostolic council on the matter under dispute. Certain of the Pharisees having demanded that the Gentile converts should be circumcised and charged to keep the law of Moses, the apostles and elders were thereupon gathered together at Jerusalem, and St Peter addressing them said: "Now therefore why tempt ye God, that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" The case was heard, and it was agreed to send to the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia by the hand of Judas and Silas, charging them to observe such things as were deemed indispensable. The substance of the decree is found in verses 28, 29, which I shall quote with a peculiar reading found in the Cambridge University manuscript *Codex Bezae*,^{Western reading} and in others of the "western" type*. With this reading the decree runs as follows: "For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden as necessary

* See Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the original Greek*, Appendix p. 96 (1881).

48 TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. [LECT. I.

than these things, *That ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and fornication; And whatsoever things ye would not have happen to yourselves, that ye do not to another.*"

in Acts
XV. 29

This is an epitome of the teaching of the first part of the *Didaché*. The tolerant principle of requiring absolutely only what was judged necessary is laid down in its sixth chapter, together with the strict injunction to conform so far to the ceremonial law as to abstain from meats offered to idols; whilst the Golden Rule in its negative form covers all the moral precepts set forth in it, according to the saying: "This is the whole Law, and the rest is commentary."

LECTURE II.

THE first part of the *Teaching*, when some clauses have been discarded as aftergrowths (p. 20), constitutes a manual of Jewish ethics, in which there is an orderly progression from the prohibition of gross and actual sins (chap. II.) to warnings against all that tends or is like to evil (chap. III.), and thence to the duties inculcated in chapter IV. The chapters VII.—XVI., which are to be the subject of this second lecture, deal with Christian topics, but are none the less susceptible of illustration from Jewish sources. They refer expressly to the "Gospel of our Lord", and treat of such matters as Baptism, the Eucharist, the Lord's Prayer, the Christian Ministry, the appearance of Antichrist and the coming of the Lord on the clouds of heaven.

I. *Christian Baptism.*

Baptism is the subject of the seventh chapter, of which the following is a rendering :

Chap. VII. *And as touching baptism, thus baptize ye :
When ye have first recited all these things,
baptize unto the name of the Father, and of the
Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in living water.
But if thou have not living water, baptize into
other water ; and if thou canst not in cold,
then in warm. And if thou have not either,
pour forth water thrice upon the head, unto the
name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost. And
before the baptism let the baptizer and him that
is to be baptized and such others as are able first
fast ; but thou shalt bid him that is to be
baptized fast one or two days before.*

Oral
teaching

Over and above the moral precepts of the *Two Ways*, the catechumen must have been taught at least the elements of a Christology. Such instruction, as relating to the mysteries of the faith, would naturally have been given by word of mouth ; and indeed so strong was the predilection for oral teaching in general that, amongst the Jews, the Mishnah, as well as the

Gemara, was handed down unwritten for centuries* ; and it is even now not lawful to complete the writing of the Pentateuch in synagogue rolls by adding the vowel points. The instruction to baptize is here given to the Church or congregation generally, and without specification of a class of persons by whom the rite is to be administered as in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 22): "But concerning baptism..., *O bishop or presbyter*, thou shalt so baptize as the Lord commanded us (Matt. xxviii. 19)." In Jewish baptism the proselyte, if not an infant, performed the act of immersion himself.

The *Teaching* testifies to the early use of the baptismal formula, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, and also to its coexistence with an incomplete or abbreviated form; it being forbidden, in chapter ix., to partake of the Eucharist except to such as have been baptized *in the name of the Lord*. This serves as a caution against hasty deductions from the use of the incomplete form

Baptismal
formula

* See the Article *Mishnah* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. When books had been written in the Holy Land, it was the rule not to let them go out of it (*T. Ḥ. Sanh.* III. 9, end).

in the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 38; viii. 16; x. 48; xix. 5), and again in the *Shepherd* of Hermas (*Vision* 3), where it is said: "These are they that heard the word and were willing to be baptized *in the name of the Lord*," but changed their minds and followed again after their evil desires. This amply sufficed to designate Christian baptism in contrast with baptism "to the name of *geruth*", that is, into the status of a proselyte to Judaism; and only in passages where the ritual of baptism was described, as in our seventh chapter or in the first *Apology* of Justin Martyr, was there any need to give the precise terms employed.

Immersion

The primitive mode of baptism was by immersion. According to the Jewish rite a ring on the finger, a band confining the hair, or anything that in the least degree broke the continuity of contact with the water, was held to invalidate the act. The Greek word "baptize", like the Hebrew *tabol*, means to dip: to "baptize" a ship is to *sink* it. The construction, "baptize *into* other water," points to immersion, as likewise does Hermas, when he writes (*Simil.* 9): "They go down therefore into the water dead,

and come up living ;” and Barnabas (chap. xi.): “Then why saith he, And there was a river flowing on the right, and there went up out of it goodly trees, and whosoever eateth of them shall live for ever ? Herein he saith that we go down into the water laden with sins and filthiness, and come up bearing fruit in our heart, and having our fear and our hope toward Jesus in the Spirit.” This was still the normal way of administering the rite, but it was no longer insisted upon as necessary: *If thou have not either*, not enough of “living” or “other” water for immersion, *pour water thrice upon the head in the name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost respectively*.

That distinctions should be made *more rab-* Kinds of water *binico* between the kinds of water to be used is one of the evidences of the Jewish origin and early date of the *Teaching*. Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 4) enumerates the various kinds, making no distinction*; whilst at a still later date we find merely the injunction to baptize “in water” (*Apost. Const.* VII. 22). By *living* water was

* Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur.

meant the bubbling or running water of a "welling fount" or stream, which was preferred on account of its abundance and perennial freshness. The place of prayer was accordingly by preference at a riverside (Acts xvi. 13). The use of the "living" water was prescribed by the Law itself in the more aggravated cases of uncleanness; and its superior efficacy is assumed and emphasised in mystic sayings of the Old Testament and the New. It was not however required in the baptism of proselytes, but for this, as for Christian baptism, "other water" sufficed. The permission to baptize in *warm* or tepid water in cases in which cold could not safely be used is remarkable. It is discussed in the Mishnah (*Eduyoth* I. 3) what quantity of "drawn", that is presumably warm water, vitiates a ceremonial bath; and it stands recorded in the Gemara (*T. J. Berak.* III. 4) that a fruitless attempt was made in the days of R. Jehoshua ben Levi (cent. II.—III.) to obtain dispensation from the practice of purificatory immersion in certain cases, in the interest of the women of Galilee, who were said to be afflicted with barrenness by the cold. But it

was permitted to warm the water for the use of the highpriest on the Day of Atonement, if he was aged or delicate (Mishn. *Joma* III. 5).

Lastly, the principle which sanctions deviations from the strict form of a rite under pressure of necessity may be illustrated by a Talmudic interpretation of Psalm xxvi. 6 (*T. B. Berak.* 15 *a*), to the effect that he who has no water to wash his hands may rub them with sand or gravel, or anything that will *cleanse*, for it is said, *I will wash my hands*, not in water but *in innocence*.

2. *The baptism of proselytes.*

It has been well said by Lightfoot in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* (Matt. iii. 6), *It is not for-*
bidden in the New Testament to baptize infants,
therefore they are to be baptized. This holds
 good of the *Teaching* also, since it emanates
 from Jews accustomed as such to the baptism
 of infants; so that, in so far as we rest on its
 authority, we must say: "The baptism of young
 children is in any wise to be *retained* in the
 Church." In order to make this clear, and all
 the more because of some inaccuracies that

Infant
baptism

have been promulgated, I must add a few words on the baptism of proselytes to Judaism.

Baptism was required of all such: when first we know not. But Jewish tradition affirmed that it had been so from time immemorial, and that the Fathers were themselves baptized before the giving of the Law. It was then argued, "*As ye are, so shall the stranger be* (Numb. xv. 15): As your fathers were not admitted to the covenant except by circumcision, and baptism, and propitiation by blood, they likewise shall not be admitted to the covenant except by circumcision, and baptism, and propitiation by blood" (*T. B. Karethoth* 9 a). With the tradition that the Fathers were actually baptized compare the saying, which in some form or other perhaps preceded it in point of time: "For I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, how that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all *baptized* unto Moses *in the cloud* and in the sea" (1 Cor. x. 2). Something analogous to this is extant in Hebrew at the commencement of the *Aboth* of R. Nathan, where it is said of Moses himself, not merely that he received the

Law from Sinai, but that he was first "sanctified in the cloud".

At the baptism and reception of a proselyte three persons, constituting a *beth din* or court of law, were in all cases required to be present. In the case of "a little proselyte", it was said, ^{Orphan child} "they baptize him on the authority of a *beth din*" (*T. B. Kethuboth* 11 a). But might this be done to a child without his intelligent consent? Yes (it was replied), on the principle that one may act for a person to his advantage, though not to his disadvantage, without his knowledge and consent. The case supposed is explained to be that of a child who, having no father, comes, or *is brought by his mother*, to be made a proselyte. But when children were made proselytes with their father the act of the father in bringing them was held to imply the assent of the children, independently of the authority of the court of three in attendance at the ceremony. In either case, "whether his father has made him a proselyte, or a *beth din* have made him a proselyte," the child may retract when he comes of age; and his status will then be, not that of an apostate Jew, but of

a heathen. It is remarkable that of the two initiatory rites, baptism and circumcision, the one and not the other should be dispensed with in the case of the sons of Jewish parents, a born Jew not needing to be baptized.

New birth There was a saying, quoted by R. Jose (cent. I.—II.): "A newly made proselyte is like a newborn child" (*T. B. Jebamoth* 48 *b*). The proselyte on his conversion was, as it were, regenerate. He passed over into a new sphere of being, and all his former relationships at once ceased and determined.

3. *The weekly holy days.*

Fasting having been enjoined in connexion with baptism, it is next added:

Chap. VIII. *But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and the fifth; but do ye fast the fourth day and the preparation.*

There is a seeming triviality in the instruction to fast on Wednesday and Friday, and not "with the hypocrites" on Monday and Thursday. But the rule wears a different aspect when closely considered. Its words are full of

significance. First of all it points unmistakably to Jewish surroundings, and is therefore an important factor in the scanty apparatus for determining when and where the *Teaching* originated. It must also have been very effectual in fencing off the Christians from their Jewish neighbours; for if the two communities kept different days of the week as fasts or feasts Lord's day (chap. XIV.), this would tend to a complete separation between them in all that related to the spiritual life. And lastly, the meagreness of the rule is proof that the *Didaché* must have been supplemented by oral teaching (p. 50). Why fast on Friday? For a simple reason that would have been taught by word of mouth, and had no need to be written down.

To compare the *Teaching* with the Talmud, we may say that the clause in question is like a "Mishnah", and that its explanatory "Gemara" is to be found in book VII. chap. 23 of the *Apostolical Constitutions*:

"But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but do ye fast either the five days, or the fourth and the preparation. Because on

the fourth day the judgment went forth against the Lord, Judas then promising his betrayal for money; *and the preparation* (fast ye), because the Lord suffered on that day the death of the cross. But on the sabbath and the Lord's day keep festival, because the one is the day of remembrance of the creation and the other of the resurrection. And one sabbath only in all the year, the one when the Lord was in the tomb, is to be observed by you as a day on which it becometh to fast and not to feast. For as long as the Creator is beneath the earth, sorrow for him prevails over the joy for the creation; for the Creator is more honourable by nature and dignity than his own works."

Christian
year

This combines explanations that had been current from the first with some later elements. Thus the *Teaching* itself makes no mention of any day to be observed in the Christian year; which serves *pro tanto* as evidence that it was composed before the outbreak (in the middle of cent. II.) of the Quartodeciman controversy, on the time of keeping Easter.

Neither does the *Teaching* enjoin the observance of the sabbath as a feast day, but rather

discountenances it ; for such (may we not say ?) is the veiled meaning of its formula, "Lord's day of the Lord" (chap. xiv.)—a formula at once Jewish and anti-Jewish, since it is framed on an Old Testament model, whilst it deposes the sabbath from its ancient place of honour as the day to be specially dedicated to the Lord. The phrase "sabbaths of the Lord" is found in Levit. xxiii. 38, and a kindred phrase, cited by Barnabas as τὸ σάββατον Κυρίου, in Exod. xx. 10 ; but the Christian is to celebrate, no longer a *sabbath* of the Lord but a *Lord's day* of the Lord. The *Teaching* is possibly the earliest document in which the first day of the week is called "the Lord's," the commentators not being quite agreed on the meaning of "the Lord's day" in Rev. i. 10. What the *Teaching* hints at by its *Dominica Domini* is categorically expressed by Ignatius, when he describes those who have attained to newness of hope as "*no longer sabbatizing but living according to the Lord's day*, in which our life did arise through him, and his death, which some deny" (*Magn.* 9). Barnabas disposes of the Jewish sabbath as a foreshadowing of a rest to come, and con-

Justin
Dial. 41

cludes (chap. xv.): "Wherefore also we keep the *eighth day* unto gladness, in the which Jesus also rose from the dead, and after that he had been manifested, ascended into the heavens." The point of view of the *Teaching* in this matter is quite consistent with its belonging to the first century; and its form of expression may well be older than that of Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom in the early part of the second century A.D.

4. *The Lord's Prayer and the Doxology.*

The prescription of days for fasting is followed by the direction, *Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his Gospel thus pray ye.* The Lord's Prayer and the Doxology are then given and are ordered to be used *thrice* daily, in continuation of the Jewish practice of praying three times in the day. In the Prayer the only important variation from the form in which it stands in St Matthew's Gospel is in the petition: "And forgive us our debt (ὀφειλήν) as we likewise forgive our debtors." The same word is used in the Parable of the unmerciful servant who

owed his lord ten thousand talents, where it is said, "I forgave thee all that *debt*" (Matt. xviii. 32), a debt absolutely beyond his power to pay. The usual form of the petition being, "And forgive us our *debts* (ὀφειλήματα) &c.," the question arises, which of the two forms is likely to have been the older? If we follow the manuscripts of the New Testament, we must of course decide for the latter; but I think that on other grounds it may be argued that the text of the *Teaching* is to be preferred. For without doubt the plural "debts" is the simpler reading, and it does not appear why this should ever have been altered into the singular, of which the significance was less obvious; but "debt", if this was the earlier reading, would quite naturally have been corrupted into *debts*, especially with the plural *debtors* following. By a striking and suggestive coincidence, there is an instance in which *sin* has been corrupted into *sins* (the word here used by St Luke), the clause of the *Gloria in excelsis*, "Thou that takest away the *sins* of the world," being derived from the saying in the Gospel; "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the *sin* of the

world" (Joh. i. 29). But whether *debt* or *debts* be altogether the older reading, the former is the reading of the *Didaché*, and it is to the credit of the scribe that he has not yielded to the temptation to improve upon it. This leaves a good impression of his fidelity, and of the character of our text.

Early
form of

The doxology does not run in the usual form, but thus, *For thine is the power and the glory for ever*, no mention being made of the *kingdom*. This again is testimony to the fidelity of the scribe; and the form in question may also, I think, be defended as quite possibly older than that to which we are accustomed, for after the petition, *Thy kingdom come*, what need was there to add, *Thine is the kingdom*? The force of this consideration is brought out by the examples of two other prayers, in chapters ix. and x. respectively, in both of which mention is made of the *kingdom* at the end and does not need to be repeated in the doxology. Of these prayers the former runs thus:

As this broken bread was once scattered (in grains) upon the mountains, and being gathered

together became one ; so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom ; For thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever ;

and the latter thus :

Remember, O Lord, thy church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in thy love ; and gather her together from the four winds, her that is sanctified unto thy kingdom which thou didst prepare for her ; For thine is the power and the glory for ever.

These examples explain the omission of the doxology "kingdom" from the doxology appended to the Lord's Prayer*. But there is a further inference to be drawn from the use of the same or nearly the same form in all the three cases ; namely that the doxology is in no case part of the Prayer properly so called, but is of the nature of a response to it, like the word *Amen*, which in fact, according to the Talmud, was a substitute for it. To the common use of the latter response St Paul testifies, when he writes : " Else if thou bless with the spirit, how

* See also I Tim. vi. 15, 16, and compare I Chron. xxix. 11.

shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say *the* [customary] *Amen* at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" (1 Cor. xiv. 16). But a doxology is said (Toseft. *Berak.*, end) to have been used in place of it at the conclusion of every benediction in the Temple. The Mishnah having laid down that it was once the custom there to conclude with the words, *From everlasting*, but from the time that the heretics taught the corrupt doctrine that there is but one world, it became the practice to say, *From everlasting*

Cf. T. B.
fol. 63 a

to everlasting,—the Palestinian Gemara adds: "we are taught that they used not to answer *Amen* in the sanctuary. What then did they say? Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and aye." The proof text for this is Neh. ix. 5: "Stand ye up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever." This doxology was to be repeated after every benediction, for is it not added? "and they shall bless thy glorious name, which is to be exalted over every blessing and praise." The real occasion of its use with such benedictions was the occurrence in them of the "incommunicable name",

JEHOVAH (as we call it), which was pronounced within the Temple only; and accordingly it was used also at the separate mention of it, as when the lot was cast for the goat which was to be "for the Lord" (Levit. xvi. 8) on the Day of Atonement*. The *Amen*, which was the response everywhere but in the sanctuary, is itself converted into a doxology by being read acrostically, "God Faithful King" (*T. B. Sanh.* Acrostic of Amen 111a). "The Amen" is a title in Rev. iii. 14.

That the Lord's Prayer should stand without *Amen* or doxology in manuscripts of the New Testament does not shew that it was to be used without either, but merely points to the fact that they do not belong to that prayer in particular. "There can be little doubt", it has been said, "that the doxology originated in liturgical use in Syria, and was thence adopted into the Greek and Syriac Syrian texts of the New Testament" (Westc. and Hort, *N. T. App.* p. 9). Be this as it may, at whatever time the doxology was first written down, it may have been in congregational use long before. Witness

* See Mishn. *Joma* iv. 1 and vi. 2; and *T. B. Joma* 37 a, where additional proof texts are given.

our practice of ending sermons with an oral "Ascription", and the recital by the congregation of an unwritten doxology, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, before the reading of the Gospel for the day.

5. *The Eucharist.*

The Eucharist is the subject of chapters ix., x., and xiv. The word properly means *thanksgiving* in the abstract, but here, as in later documents, it denotes the feast of thanksgiving, in which none but the baptized may share. Chapter ix., which contains forms of thanksgiving and prayer to be used before the reception, runs as follows :

Chap. ix. *And as touching the Eucharist, thus give ye thanks. First, concerning the cup: We thank thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David thy child, which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered broadcast upon the*

mountains, and being gathered together became one; so may thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom. For thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever. But let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptized in the name of the Lord; for concerning this the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

The phrase, *holy vine of David*, is not found in any earlier writing; but we may resolve it into two elements, and say that it embodies the well known figure of the *vine* in combination with the idea of the “*root of David*” (Rev. v. 5; xxii. 16), which corresponds to the prophet Isaiah’s “*root of Jesse*”. Clement of Alexandria, who identifies the vine with the Word, writes in one place that Jesus was “*he that poured forth the wine, the blood of the vine of David, into our wounded souls (Luke x. 34)*”^{*}; thereby shewing that he was acquainted with the *Teaching* in general, and not with chapters I.—VI. only (p. 30).

^{*} See *Quis div. salv.* 29; *Pædagog.* I. 5 and II. 2. See also the notes to the translation of the *Διδαχή*.

Vine of
David

That the vine of David signifies Jesus, the Word or the Messiah, is a sound and simple interpretation in itself; but in the *Teaching* it denotes something made known to men through Jesus. In like manner there is a double use of "wisdom" in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha; and when Wisdom personified cries, Eat of my bread and drink of my wine, the food which she offers men is herself (Prov. ix. 5; Eccclus. xxiv. 21). Another apt parallel is found in the eighth *Similitude* of Hermas, which may (I think) have been founded on the allegory of the vine brought out of Egypt, which filled the earth, and covered the hills with its shadow* (Ps. lxxx.). The vine becomes, in Hermas, "a great willow overshadowing plains and mountains;" and it is said in explanation of the figure: "This great tree that overshadoweth plains and mountains and the whole earth is the law of God that was given to the whole world. But *this law is the Son of God*, who hath been preached unto the ends of the

* The conjecture in the text is confirmed by the sacred and symbolic use of the "willows of the brook" (Levit. xxiii. 40) at the Feast of Tabernacles, to which Dr Schiller-Szinessy calls my attention. See Mishnah *Sukkah* IV. 5, 6.

earth." Here the same symbol stands at once for the revealed word and the Son of God. The reference to the Son of God is explained by the words, *The Son thou madest strong for thyself*, in ver. 15—17, where the psalmist's use of *ben* in relation to the "vine" should be compared with the use of *ben* and *banoth* in Gen. xlix. 22.

The parable of the scattered grain united in the "one bread" is in part illustrated by the saying of the Talmud (*T. B. Pesach. 87 b*): "The Holy One sent Israel into captivity only that proselytes might be added to them, for it is said, *And I will sow her unto me in the earth* (Hos. ii. 23). Does a man sow a measure except to gather many loads?" Israel were scattered as seed among the nations that they might be gathered as an abundant harvest into one: *So may thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom.*

The prayer containing this parable is reproduced in the tract *De Virginitate*, to which I have once before had occasion to allude (p. 15). The virgin is there directed to say, as she comes to partake of the bread: "We thank

thee, O our Father, for thy holy resurrection, that through thy child Jesus thou didst make it known to us. And as this bread was once scattered that is *upon this table* and being gathered together became one, so may thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom. For thine is the power and the glory for ever. Amen." How are we to account for the curious transformation which the phrase "scattered *upon the mountains*" has undergone in this later version? The change from *mountains* to *table*, it has been happily remarked, was made to adapt the prayer for local use; and accordingly we may infer that in its native form it was not composed in the lowlands of Egypt, while its incorporation without change in the *Teaching* is evidence that the manual was not indigenous to those parts. In *Apost. Const.* VII. 25 the phrase "upon the mountains" is simply omitted.

With reference to the caution to withhold the Eucharist from the unbaptized, it is possible that Barnabas, who so boldly allegorises all that relates to external ordinances, saying of the plain prohibition of unclean meats, *So then-*

there is no commandment of God to abstain from eating, but Moses spake in the spirit (chap. x.), is likewise allegorising the conclusion of our ninth chapter when he says, *Let not the* Barnabas *word of God go forth from thee amongst any that are unclean* (chap. xix.); for conversely, if it were required to illustrate his saying from the New Testament, the first text that would occur to any person familiar with the Gospel would be, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.*

Chapter x. contains forms of prayer and Chap. x. thanksgiving to be used, as it is expressed, *After being filled**.

The thanksgiving opens with a simple Hebraism: "We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy *name* which thou hast *made to dwell* in our hearts;" which there would scarcely have been any need to illustrate, had not some eminent writers inadvertently remarked that there is no precedent for the transitive sense of the Greek word *κατασκηνώω*, to enshrine or *make to dwell*. But (not to mention *inter alia* Ps. lxxviii. 60) the complete phrase which is

* See Deut. viii. 10. The Passover was eaten, *After being filled* (Rashi on Deut. xvi. 2).

the stumbling-block is found in the Septuagint in Jerem. vii. 12: "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where *I caused my name to dwell* at the first*," and again in Nehem. i. 9. And further, it must have been used also in Deut. xii. 11; xiv. 23; xvi. 6, 11; xxvi. 2, had not the translators there allowed themselves the licence of a paraphrase, because they shrank from giving a local habitation to the Name. The outgoing weekly guard of the Temple are said to have greeted their successors on the sabbath with the benediction: "May he who hath made his name to dwell in this house make to dwell among you love, and brotherhood, and peace, and friendship." (*T. B. Berak. 12 a.*)

In the prayer following, the kingdom elsewhere said to be prepared for Christ's disciples, and in which they are to reign with him, is said
 Rev. xxi. to be prepared for his *church*,—the Bride that is to share his sovereignty. It is in keeping with this figure that she is said to be *made holy*, the Hebrew word for espousals being *Qiddushin*, which means consecration or sanctification.

The use of the word "filled", as above

* οὐ κατεσκήνωσα τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ ἔμπροσθεν.

mentioned, is a hint that it was still the practice when the manual was composed to partake of an actual meal, the love-feast, in connexion with the Eucharist, as at Corinth in St Paul's time*. It is remarked in the *Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Cor. xi. 20: "The Agapé was a social feast Agapé combined in some way with the Eucharist. If in the Apostolic age it was the prologue to the Holy Communion, it afterwards became the epilogue." Accordingly, if we could ascertain when it was detached from and placed after the Eucharist, we should seemingly have a date before which the *Teaching* must have been written. But this is a more complex question than at first sight appears, since the change was not made at the mandate of any central authority and once for all, but crept in by degrees as a matter of local use; and what we want to know is when the primitive practice was given up in the region which was the birthplace of the *Teaching*, wherever that may have been. It has been inferred from Pliny's letter to Trajan

* Further proof of this is the mention of the *cup* before the *bread*, whereas the "cup of blessing", corresponding to the third of the four Passover cups, came after. See Luke xxii. 17—20; 1 Cor. x. 16 and xi. 25.

on the occasion of the Bithynian persecution, that the change had already been made when he wrote, and that the *Teaching* must consequently have been compiled before the year 112 A.D.; but Pliny's testimony is not good as evidence of the practice of congregations beyond the confines of Pontus and Bithynia, where he was proprætor. Granted that when Justin Martyr wrote, a generation after, the change had been made at Rome, and probably in most places; yet amongst the Copts, in contravention of the general use, the primitive order still obtained so much later, that the argument from the word "filled" loses its force for those who hold the *Teaching* to be of Egyptian origin. Even so late as the time of the historian Socrates (cent. v.) the Egyptians in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and in the Thebaid partook of the "mysteries" on the *sabbath* after a full meal and in the evening*. Only therefore

* Of the Christians in those parts he writes in *H. E.* v. 22, cited by Mr Gwatkin, *μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐωχηθῆναι καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι, περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν*. He is contrasting them with the citizens of Alexandria and Rome, who (on the authority of some ancient tradition) refused to celebrate the mysteries on the sabbath as was then customary. The *μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν* of *Apost. Const.*

if the *Teaching* was not written in those quarters are its words, *After being filled*, a decisive mark of extreme antiquity; although in any case they are consistent with the earliest date that can be assigned to it.

It is doubtful whether or not this phrase covers a celebration of the Eucharist following close upon the love feast, for it may be that the communion proper is intended to come in after the next prayer, and at the words :

Let grace come and this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy, let him come: if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as pleaseth them. Chap. x.

But in any case the watchword *Maranatha*, whilst apparently meaning, *Our Lord came* or *is come*, seems from its context here to serve as a reminder that "The Lord is at hand". The anticipation of the second Advent becomes a prayer in the singular ejaculation of Rev. xxii. 20: "*Amen: come, Lord Jesus;*" a trace of which in its Hebrew form survives to this day

VII. 26 is ambiguous; the more so that in the same chapter τὰ πρὸς μετάληψιν means "food and drink to enjoy".

in the Jewish liturgies, and was some years back brought into relief by the detection of a peculiar reading in a manuscript of cent. XII.—XIII. There is a simple and primitive hymn in all the prayer books, which is named from its opening words, *En kelohēnu*, "There is none like our God." The initials of its lines, each of which consists of four clauses beginning with the same letter, make the words *Amen: bo**, that is, Ἀμήν· ἔρχου (the reading of the best text in Rev. xxii. 20), which might accordingly be used as an alternative short title of the hymn, just as Psalm cxlv. is called acrostically, "*Aleph Beth*." Now in the one manuscript above mentioned *Amen bo* is actually written

Acrostic
See p. 67

* In the edition of *Seder R. Amram* (Warsaw 1865) the M-line is placed first on p. 7^u, but the true order is restored on p. 1^u. The hymn is complete in *five* lines, and the sixth lines found in different rituals are clearly of later date; for their structure at once betrays them, and they do not even agree with one another. The acrostic was fully deciphered years ago by Dr Schiller-Szinessy, who eventually succeeded in finding the confirmatory manuscript reading referred to in the text. The אמן בא is unpointed on fol. 286 *a*, and may be read *Amen bo*. It is pointed *Amen ba* on fol. 53 *a*, but the points are of course not of the same authority as the consonants. A trace of the hymn is found at the end of *Pirqé Hekhaloth* (fol. 46 *a* in ארזי לבנון, Venice 1601), as to which see the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. *Midrash* (p. 286).

instead of the hymn, in the place where it is to be used after the Additional Service for the New Year (fol. 53 *a*), and again towards the conclusion of the Additional Service for the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly (fol. 286 *a*), at the end of the Feast of Tabernacles. The liturgy of this festival accordingly becomes a key to the combination, *Hosanna...Maranatha. Amen*. For the *Hosanna* verse, which was the cry of the people as they encompassed the altar on the successive days of the Feast (Mishn. *Sukk.* iv. 5), is followed immediately in Psalm cxviii. by, "Blessed be he that *cometh* in the name of the Lord;" so that the *Maranatha* in its Hebrew form is linked on the one side to the *Amen* in the hymn, and on the other to the *Hosanna* in the psalm. The Seventh Day of Tabernacles, on which the altar was encompassed not once, but seven times, is still called "Great Hosanna"; and on this day also, even according to the Ashkenazic ritual, the *Amen bo* is appointed to be used.

These chapters ix. and x. stamp the *Teaching* as a product of the transition period when, as a safeguard against the confusion of tongues

deprecatd by St Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 26), forms of prayer had been drawn up for the members of the congregation; whilst as yet there was no settled liturgy, but the prophet might give thanks in his own words.

Forms of
prayer

6. *The apostles and prophets.*

Chaps.
XI.—XV.

The received division of the *Teaching* into chapters is at this point not quite a happy one, the beginning of chapter xi. being a peroration, which should be marked off from what follows. It resembles the parting admonition which sets the seal to the doctrine of the *Two Ways* (chap. vi.), and a fresh chapter should commence at the words, *And as touching the apostles and prophets.* These, in fact, introduce a distinct main section on the *Christian Ministry* (reaching to the end of chapter xv.), which is so far independent of what precedes as to include a separate chapter on the "breaking of bread", although this had been already treated at some length under the head of *Eucharist*.

The ministry falls into two groups, the apostles, prophets and teachers (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11), and the bishops and deacons.

Every apostle is to be received as the Lord, on the principle of the Talmudic proverb, *A man's envoy is as himself*. Yet the apostle was not so far removed from the prophet, but that if he remained three days in a place, or if he asked for money on his departure, he was a *false prophet*. I will not attempt to draw the line between them, nor between the prophets and teachers; but will confine my remarks to the "prophet", who is the leading character in this section. He was, as we may say, a kind of Mission Preacher ordained by no human authority. But although he was as a rule itinerant, the contingency of his attaching himself to some congregation was provided for. It was the unpardonable sin to try or prove a prophet speaking in the Spirit; and yet criteria are given, but so as to excite rather than satisfy our curiosity, whereby the "prophet" and the "false prophet" might be known. The saying, *For it is they that are your chief priests*, proves their commanding position; and, in connexion with its context, it is a sign of the Jewish character and early date of the *Teaching*.

It remains to discuss the dark saying about

See Acts
xiii. 1—3

the prophet and the "cosmic mystery of the church", towards the close of chapter xi. :

Chap. xi. *And every prophet teaching the truth, if he doeth not what he teacheth is a false prophet. And every approved true prophet doing (what he doeth) with reference to the cosmic mystery of the church, but not teaching to do what things he himself doeth, shall not be judged of you, seeing he hath his judgment with God; for even so likewise did the prophets of old time.*

Casuistry The *Teaching* here trenches on the domain of casuistry by laying down that it may be lawful to do things contrary to the general law with a holy purpose. "The priests in the temple profane the sabbath and are blameless" (Matt. xii. 5). And to pass from the service of the sanctuary to its building, which is the type of the true prophet's work of edification, its sculptured forms were not held to come under the general ban, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image*. The conduct of the Christian prophet was not to be arraigned, if in the exercise of his vocation he performed actions which would else have been unlawful, for even

so did the prophets of the former dispensation. Thus Elijah offered sacrifice on Mount Carmel, in disregard of the prohibition of the Law. (Deut. xii. 11, 13, 14.) He made bold to do this (says the Talmud) as being a prophet, and on the strength of a special revelation; and he besought the Lord for a token of divine approval, as it is written: "And it came to pass at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that Elijah the PROPHET came near, and said, Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me" (1 Kings xviii. 31—37). *Hear me*, in my own right; and again, *Hear me*, for my disciples' sake*. The prophet claims to have his judgment with God; and he is solicitous that his own liberty of action may not prove a scandal to the church.

As to the epithet *cosmic*, Clement of Alexandria expresses that the Lord while *in* the world was not *of* the world (Joh. xvii. 16),

* See *T. J. Thaan*. II. 8; *Megil.* I. 11, end. And compare in *Aboth* v., *Whosoever makes the many righteous &c.*

by saying that, "being not cosmic, he came to men as cosmic" (*Strom.* vi. 15). There is an archetypal church and its "cosmic" manifestation (Heb. ix. 1); and more generally, in the language of the cabbalists, to every "upper mystery" corresponds a mystery in the "lower" world, which is the *cosmos*. The church of Christ being the true Israel, and the congregation of Israel the mystic bride; the ancient prophets may be said to have spoken and acted with reference to the "cosmic mystery" which is the counterpart in the lower world of the celestial mystery of "Christ and the church" (Eph. v. 32; Rev. xxi. 2).

μυστήριον
κοσμικόν

A case in point is the marriage of the prophet Hosea to Gomer (Hos. i.). The act was abnormal*, and it was ordered to be performed with symbolic reference to the love of God for the congregation of Israel, who are thus addressed in chap. ii. 16, 19: "And it shall be at that day that thou shalt call me *My husband*... And I will betroth thee unto me for ever."

* There is much critical discussion on this marriage of the prophet; but it suffices here to take the meaning which lies on the surface.

The Law notwithstanding, Solomon graved the likeness of male and female* on the walls of his temple to adumbrate this mystery. This, said the Rabbis, was the subject of the Song of Solomon. It was no mere secular idyll to be denied a place in the canon; but while all the Scriptures were holy, the Song of Songs was most holy (Mishn. *Yad.* III. 5). A basis for all this in the Pentateuch was not far to seek. For if the creation of man as "male and female" denoted the actual marriage relation, it Matt. xix. comprised by implication that of which this was a symbol; according to the doctrine of St Paul (Eph. v. 32), and of the Talmud, which uses "the love of male and female" as a figure of the love of God for Israel. Papias conceived the whole account of the work of the Hexahemeron to refer to "Christ and the church"; and the pseudo-Clement of Rome writes in his fourteenth chapter: "*God made man male and female. The male is Christ: the female the church.*"

* Such, it is said, were the figures of the cherubim, which were carved all about (1 Kings vi.). See *T. B. Joma* 54 a. Compare also *Exod.* xxxvii. 9.

The passage which we have been discussing is by general consent the *crux* of the *Didaché*. Thus far indeed it has presented no insuperable difficulty; but there is no hint of the nature of those exceptional acts which the prophet was to be allowed to perform. An ingenious suggestion has however been made by Harnack, to which I will first call attention.

He thinks then that the allusion is to the
1 Tim. iv. 3 practices of the ascetics, who abstained from marriage. Such abstention is indeed permitted in Matt. xix. 11; but as an exception to that general law of the creation (ver. 4), from which the Talmud deduces that "a man* without a wife is not a man" (*T. B. Jebam.* 63 a). The Rabbis held marriage to be a duty, inasmuch as man was commanded to *Increase and multiply*. There was a saying, "At eighteen the bridal." Again: "The Holy One sits and watches a man till he is twenty years old, to see if he will marry. If he comes to twenty and is not married, He says [using a common form of imprecation], Let *the spirit* of his bones be

* So the Amsterdam edition. But the expurgated editions read *A few without a wife &c.*, out of regard for the monks.

breathed out" (*T. B. Qiddush. 29 b*). The prophet Isaiah reports to king Hezekiah, *Thou shalt die, and not live*: "Thou shalt die in this world, and not live in the world to come, because thou didst not fulfil the command *Increase and multiply*" (*T. B. Berak. 10 a*).

To bring one more most apposite illustration Talmud on marriage from the tract *Jebamoth* (63 *b*); Every one who does not marry is "as if he shed blood" (Gen. ix. 6, 7). Said another, He is "as if he diminished the likeness", that is, the race of man made in God's likeness. Said Ben Azzai, a famous mystic, "He is as if he shed blood *and* diminished the likeness." When they charged him with not practising what he preached, he cried, *And what was I to do when my soul cleaved to the Torah?* She, the Law of the Lord, was his mystic bride. And so he claimed dispensation from obedience to the general law, and justified himself in the practice of an asceticism which he would have been the last to commend in others. On the same principle the prophet in the *Teaching* is permitted to do what he may not teach others to do, with symbolic reference to the mystic

union of Christ and the church. St Paul, in this matter, practised what he did not make obligatory; but his standpoint was not that of the *Teaching* (1 Cor. vii. 7).

Ignatius It is some slight confirmation of the special solution which I have been attempting to illustrate, that it leads up historically to the doctrine of Ignatius (*Polyc.* 5), who allows private members of the church to profess celibacy, but with the consent and cognisance of the bishop alone; whereas in a still later age such vows were taken freely and openly.

The case of Ben Azzai is the more noteworthy, in that he was not simply unmarried, but had put away his espoused wife that he might cleave to the Law.

Barnabas on the Nevertheless I incline to a very different, and I think simpler solution, for which the authority of Barnabas (who perhaps had in mind the actual saying of the *Didaché*) may be claimed. "Yea furthermore (writes he in chapter XII.), that very Moses which gave commandment, *Ye shall have neither molten nor graven thing for a god unto you*, himself maketh such, that he may shew a type of Jesus. Moses

then maketh a brazen serpent, and setteth it up on high, and summoneth the people by proclamation. They accordingly coming together besought Moses that he would offer supplication on their behalf for their healing. And Moses spake to them saying, When any man of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent that is set upon the wood, and let him have hope, believing that it, though dead, can make alive; and straightway he shall be saved. And so did they. Herein thou hast again the glory of Jesus, how that in him are all things, and *unto* him." Moses made a graven image with reference to (εἰς) Jesus—a thing which he is so far from teaching others to do, that he sets at the head of the list of curses in Deut. xxvii., *Cursed be the man that maketh a molten or graven image.* The Christian prophet, following in his steps, was to be suffered to give vividness to his teaching even by the use of symbols which might be thought to savour of the surrounding paganism. Reference may fitly be made in this connexion to the furniture of the tabernacle, and to the significant reiteration, in the closing chapters of Exodus, of the remark

serpent
of brass

that herein all was done "as the Lord commanded Moses".

The term "cosmic", as defined by its use in Heb. ix. 1, fits accurately into its place in the *Teaching*. As the cosmic sanctuary, made with hands, was a pattern of the heavenly; so a cosmic mystery is an idea depicted in the world of sense by emblematic actions or material objects. The saying thus interpreted sanctions the legitimate use of art in religious teaching*.

Symbol-
ism in the
Old Testa-
ment

It was a practice of the prophet from of old to convey his message with the help of symbolism; and if in so doing he seemed in any way to go beyond bounds, his judgment was with God. Bryennios was on the right track in this matter, but failed to produce any convincing illustration.

In this interpretation, the mystery "of the church" may stand as a synonym for the mystery of the *faith* or of the *Gospel*, without particular reference to any aspect of it. Or, still better, we may read, not *the* but *a* mystery of the church. Then, since a "cosmic mystery"

* See on *The Relation of Christianity to Art*, in *The Epistles of St John* pp. 317—360, ed. Westcott (1883).

is the outward sign of a heavenly mystery, the saying may be rendered :

And every approved true prophet doing, for an earthly sign of a mystery of the church, but not teaching to do, whatsoever things he himself doeth, &c.

Turning now to Justin Martyr's *Dialogue* Justin on the Teaching with the Jew Trypho, which is a sustained argument on this thesis, we find him all but quoting the very words of the *Teaching*, when he lays down that there was an element of precept and *action* (πραξις) under the old dispensation, which was commanded *to the mystery of Christ ward**. But for this (he says) the teachings of the prophets might be cavilled at†; and he brings a goodly array of illustrations, returning once and again to the episode of the serpent, which he places, if possible, in a stronger light even than Barnabas.

* εἰς μυστήριον Χριστοῦ (*Dial.* 44), corresponding to, εἰς μυστήριον...ἐκκλησίας, in the *Teaching*. The *Dialogue* should be read through in connexion with the saying on the "cosmic mystery".

† ὥστε λέγε σὺ ἃ λέγεις· προσέχομεν γάρ σοι μυστήριον ἀποκαλύπτοντι, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν διδάγματα συκοφανητά ἐστι (*Dial.* 94). This serves also to illustrate the construction, ποιῶν...ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, in the *Teaching*.

The matter common to Justin and Barnabas points back to an oral *Didaché* (Titus i. 9), antecedent to any written record*.

7. *The bishops and deacons.*

The subject of the local ministry is led up to by brief directions for the service of the Lord's day :

Chap. XIV. *And on each Lord's day of the Lord be ye gathered together and break bread and give thanks; after confessing your transgressions, that our sacrifice may be pure. And let none that hath a difference with his fellow come together with you until they be reconciled, that our sacrifice be not defiled. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord, In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice; For I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name wonderful among the Gentiles.*

Elect therefore unto yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not loving money, and truthful and approved; for unto you do they too minister the ministry of

* See Luke xxiv. 27; Joh. iii. 14. And compare Justin *Apol.* i. 32; *Dial.* 76 and 100.

the apostles and teachers. Despise them not Titus ii. 15
therefore; for they are they that are set in
honour among you with the prophets and teachers.
And reprove ye one another, not in wrath but in
peace, as ye have it in the Gospel. And with
any that erreth against his brother let none
speak, nor let him hear a word from you, until
he repent. And your prayers and alms and all
that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of
our Lord.

The salient feature of the Eucharist in chapters ix. and x. was its eschatological symbolism (1 Cor. xi. 26), while the "one bread" represented also the present unity of the church. Here it is spoken of in terms of sacrifice, and a precedent is set for applying to it the words of Malachi i. 11, 14. It is in pursuance of the analogy of sacrifice that open confession of sins is required to be first made, as it is said, *He shall confess that wherein he hath sinned: and he shall bring his trespass offering unto the Lord* (Levit. v. 5, 6). Sacrifices preceded by confession

The provision of regular ministrations on each Lord's day of the Lord is followed logically

by the instruction to organise a local ministry. "Elect therefore (οὖν) *for yourselves* bishops and deacons"; and see that they be of the same character and calibre as the unattached ministers of the church at large; for unto *you* locally do they minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers*. That the institution of "bishops and deacons" should be thus linked to the service of the Lord's day is a prelude to the more advanced doctrine of Ignatius, that it is not lawful apart from "the bishop" to baptize or to celebrate an agapé (*Smyrn.* 8). The duties of teaching, discipline, and the care of the poor devolved upon the local ministry as accessory to the central act of worship; for the Eucharist was the *Cor reipublicæ*, which gave life to the several branches of the organism.

Oral teaching could not at first but take precedence of all else, for how should they hear without a preacher? But no sooner had the preacher created a congregation than the need of organisation arose; while the faith once delivered had only to be handed down, and the

* ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

services of the prophet "speaking in the Spirit" became still less indispensable when the Gospel was at length known everywhere in writing.

The prophet in his day acted as public almoner, for it is said, only *if ye have no prophet, give directly to the poor* (chap. XIII.). He might give commandment to set a table, speaking in the Spirit; although if he partook of it he shewed himself a false prophet (chap. XI.). This brings us to the principle of the *Offertory*, which springs out of the primitive love-feast, and has ever since been associated with the Eucharist. According to St Chrysostom (1 Cor. *Hom.* 27), the Lord's Supper, as being the Master's, is common to all who are his servants; and the love-feast of the Apostle's time was a kind of survival from the days of the first three thousand believers, who ate and had all things in common. Rich and poor no longer indeed threw their goods into a common stock; but they made *the tables* public on appointed days, and after partaking of the mysteries all joined in a common banquet, the rich providing the food, and the poor feasting with them as their guests. In the time of

Origin of
offertory

Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), the rich gave as they were disposed, at the Sunday service, and the collection was deposited with the officiating minister, who applied it to the relief of orphans, widows, sick and needy, prisoners, strangers and sojourners; and in a word acted as general caretaker for those in need. The eleemosynary character of the agapé was a continuation from the Passover, the domestic service for which opens with the invitation, *Ho bread of affliction which our Fathers ate in the land of Egypt: Everyone that hungers, let him come and eat; Everyone that has need, let him come and keep Passover.*

Law and
discipline

The administration of justice, itself (according to a Rabbinic aphorism) a department of Torah, was likewise an accessory to the Eucharist; since for the settlement of disputes, which was required before this could be partaken of, recourse must have been had in graver cases to the ecclesiastical court of law and discipline. Why does the section on *Judgments* in the Pentateuch stand next to the paragraph about the *Altar* (Exod. xx. 24—26)? *To tell thee that thou shouldest set a Sanhedrin*

next to the Sanctuary. It was for the saints to judge the world (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3). "He who brings lawsuits of Israel before a heathen tribunal profanes the Name, and does homage to idolatry; for when *Our enemies* are *judges* (Deut. xxxii. 31), it is a testimony to the superiority of their religion*."

As congregations grew and grew, ~~the rela-~~ ^{Growth of the local ministry} tive importance of the didactic and administrative functions underwent modification; and in both capacities the local ministers succeeded and superseded the apostolic or missionary officers. The caution, "Despise not the bishops and deacons†, for they are your local dignitaries, whom you should honour equally with the prophets and teachers," points to a primeval and fluid state of church organisation. It was only possible in an extremely early period of transition, to which the *Teaching* must accordingly belong.

It was long ago remarked as something

* See Rashi on Exod. xxi. 1, with *Mechiltha* and *Sheelthoth* on מִשְׁפָּטִים; and compare *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* p. 61.

† Compare Acts vi. 2; 1 Cor. i. 17 and vi. 4; Ignat. *Trall.* 2; and 1 Thess. v. 20, *Despise not prophesyings*. Which caution is of the earlier type?

Justin
and the
Teaching

strange, that Justin Martyr describes the Eucharist twice over in almost identical terms; referring in the first instance to the initiatory communion of the freshly baptized, and in the next chapter but one, to the regular Sunday service (*Apol.* i. 65, 67). In the *Teaching* also it is once described shortly after Baptism, and again as the service of the Lord's day; but *without repetition* of anything that had been said before. If this hint be followed out, it will be seen that we have good reason to think that Justin was acquainted with the *Didaché*.

The history of the agapé throws light upon a saying of chapter xi. (to which I will now once more call attention), and this again upon the imperfectly understood passage of 2 Pet. ii. 13—15: "Spots are they and blemishes, revelling in *their* feasts of charity, feasting together with you... Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam..., who loved the wages of unrighteousness." A prophet might make "the tables" free at other than the set times, but not for his own indulgence. If he proclaimed a special love-feast he might not join in it, on pain of

being pronounced a false prophet. Those mercenary and licentious followers of the false prophet Balaam transgressed the rule of the *Teaching* by joining in feasts specially ordered by themselves. In the light of this illustration the above passage of 2 Peter has every appearance of priority to its counterpart in the Epistle of Jude ^{2 Peter prior to Jude}.

A prophet who ordered a table and ate of it is in modern parlance a person who promotes schemes of public charity with an eye to his own profit or advancement.

8. *The last things.*

The concluding chapter strikes the note of watchfulness for the coming of the Lord :

Be ye oftentimes gathered together, seeking the things pertaining to your souls ; for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, if at the last season ye be not perfected. For in the last days..., when lawlessness increases..., the deceiver of the world shall appear, as Son of God,...and the earth shall be delivered into his hands... Then shall mankind come into the furnace of trial, and many shall be offended and perish,

Chap.
XVI.

but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the very curse.

Salvation
through
the curse

The paradox of salvation through the curse is as a light shining in a dark place. "The travailing soul is near to God." The fiery trial of faith works patience, which wins the crown of life. The woman, if she continue in faith, shall be saved through that which was her curse*. To Israel in the wilderness the serpent was both plague and antidote. Through death the Lord destroys him that hath the power of death. What means, God *tempted* Abraham? it means that he *exalted* him (*Beresh. R.* LV.). "Not as the measure of the Holy One is the measure of flesh and blood;" for when a man has a grudge against his neighbour he seeks his ruin, but the judgments of God are blessings. He cursed the serpent saying, *Dust shalt thou eat*, and it finds its food whithersoever it goes. He cursed Canaan, and he eats what his master eats, and drinks what his master drinks† (*T. B.*

* See 1 Tim. ii. 15, and v. 14, 15, with the note in *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* p. 29.

† There is a Rabbinic saying, *Servus regis rex* (*Beresh. R.* XVI.; *Sifré Deut. pisqa* 6), which may be the source of our, *Cui servire regnare*, "Whose service is perfect freedom." To serve the βασιλεὺς βασιλευόντων (1 Tim. vi. 15) is to reign.

Joma 75a). The "workings" even of the power of evil are for good, "seeing that without God nothing comes to pass" (chap. III.). An obvious symbol of the curse which issues in salvation is the Cross. "The eternal crown of the elect saints will come of thorns" (*Sib. Orac.* VIII. 295).

Justin Martyr has a curious play upon this saying. Using the verb derived from its un-^{Justin on the curse} common expression for a "curse", he speaks of those *who cursed and do curse** the faithful, that so they may obtain *salvation* and escape the retribution in the fire (*Dial.* 47). They curse, hoping (as it were) to be "saved by the very curse".

The last word of the *Teaching* is the announcement of the second Advent, which is to be ushered in by three signs, called the Signs of the Truth, in contrast with the signs and wonders of the deceiver, who usurps the name and kingdom of the Son of God :

*Then shall appear the signs of the truth :
The first the sign of a (cross) spreading out in
heaven ; next the sign of the voice of a trumpet ;*

* καταθεματίζοντας (or καταναθ.) κ.τ.λ. See Otto's note and text. The *Teaching* says, σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

and the third a resurrection of the dead. Yet not of all, but as it is said, the Lord shall come and all his saints with him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

Sign of the
Cross

The enigma of the sign of *outspreading* (ἐκπετάσεως) in heaven is solved by the suggestion of Archdeacon Edwin Palmer*, that it means a spreading of the hands out transversely to the body so as to form a *cross*. Chapter XII. of the *Epistle* of Barnabas is devoted to prefigurements of the cross. For one type of this he refers to Moses, who stretched out his hands, and thereby empowered Israel to prevail over Amalek (Exod. xvii.); and in the same sense he cites the text Isaiah lxv. 2: "All the day long have I spread out (ἐξέπετασα) my hands unto a people disobedient and gainsaying my righteous way." The "stretching" or "spreading" out of the hands in both places is thus explained also by Justin Martyr, and by later patristic writers. The pseudo-prophetic

* For an abundance of illustrations see *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*, by J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge 1885).

Sibylline Oracles, which embody so much of the phraseology of the *Teaching*, predict the crucifixion of the Lord by saying, "He shall spread out his hands and span the whole world" (VIII. 302. Cf. I. 372); with which should be compared the foreshadowing of the manner of the Apostle Peter's death, "Thou shalt stretch Joh. xxi. forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee."

The birds (writes Tertullian), as they raise themselves toward heaven, "instead of hands spread out a cross of wings, and utter a something that seems to be a prayer" (*De Oratione*, end).

The sign of the cross corresponds to St Matthew's sign of the Son of Man in heaven (xxiv. 30), which has been thought to be the form of Christ crucified. A connecting link between the two is the doctrine of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I. 55), that the human frame is characteristically cruciform, in virtue of its erect posture with lateral extension of the arms. The cross is used as a designation of Christ himself in the Sibylline acrostics of the *Fish*, a favourite emblem of the Saviour in the early church. Conversely, in the *Acts of John* (p. 223, ed. Zahn), "Christ"

is one of the many names of the Cross of Light. To these examples we may add from Ignatius *Ephes.* 9, "Being raised aloft by the instrument Jesus Christ, which is the cross;" for this rendering is favoured by the context (not to mention the analogy of Joh. i. 51), and in another place he speaks of the members of Christ as "branches of the cross" (*Trall.* 11).

Barnabas shews signs of acquaintance with the sixteenth chapter of the *Teaching*, when he writes (chaps. IV., XVII.):

Barnabas

"Wherefore take we heed in the last days; for the whole time of our (life and) faith shall profit us nothing, except now in the lawless season and the coming offences, as becometh sons of God we withstand, that the Black One get no entrance. Flee we from all vanity. Let us hate utterly the works of the evil way. Be ye not separate, going in and out among yourselves, as though ye were already justified; but coming together unto the same place, seek ye together for—the things pertaining unto salvation."

We have found explanations in his *Epistle* of the saying on the "cosmic mystery" and of

the sign of "outspreading". Is there any trace therein of the doctrine of salvation through the Curse?

It is the way of Barnabas, when an idea has taken possession of him, to connect it allegorically with something (which may or may not be quite foreign to it) in the Old Testament. Thus when he wishes to inculcate the duty of living by one's "toil and sweat", and not by rapine, he makes this to be the meaning of the command, *Thou shalt not eat the eagle, nor the kite, nor the raven* (chap. x.). Given then the saying, *They shall be saved by the very curse*, and given that the "curse" might conceivably stand for a person or thing accursed, or devoted to the power of evil, what more natural than that he should take up his parable as follows (chap. vii.):

"Give heed then how he commanded. *Take two fine goats like to each other, and offer them, and let the priest take the one for a whole burnt offering for sins. But to the other one what shall they do? Accursed (he saith) is that one.* Give heed how the type of Jesus is made

manifest. *And spit ye all upon it**, and pierce it, and put the scarlet wool about its head; and so let it be cast into the wilderness. And when it is so done, he that beareth the goat leadeth it into the wilderness, and taketh away the wool, and putteth it upon the branch which is called Rachia, whereof also we are used to eat the shoots when we find them in the land. Of this briar alone is the fruit thus sweet. What then is this? Give heed. *The one on to the altar, and the other accursed.* And again, THE ACCURSED ONE CROWNED. Inasmuch as they shall see him in that day having the long scarlet robe about his flesh, and they shall say, Is not this he whom we set at naught, and spat upon, and pierced, and crucified? Of a truth this was he who then said that he was himself the Son of God. For how is he like unto that one? To this end should the goats be *like and*

and the
two goats

* There was no injunction to maltreat the scapegoat; but this was actually done by the "Babylonians", who plucked its hair, so that precautions had to be taken against it (*T. B. Joma* 66 a). In a passage of the Mishnah (*Menach. xi. 7*), "Babylonian" is said (*T. B. 100 a*) to mean *Alexandrine*. Possibly it was used as a term of opprobrium for rough, common people. See also von Gebhardt and Harnack's notes *in loc.* (1878).

*equal**, that when they behold him coming in that day, they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. See then in the goat the type of Jesus who was to suffer. But why were they to put the wool into the midst of the thorns? It is a type of Jesus set forth to the church, signifying that whosoever would take up the scarlet wool must needs suffer many things, because the thorn is terrible, and must by being afflicted master it. *Thus (he saith) they that would see me, and lay hold of my kingdom, must through affliction† and suffering obtain me.*"

On thorns
in wool
see *T. B.*
Ber. 8 a

In the chapter following he treats of the sacrifice of the red heifer (Numb. xix.), and concludes: "And why the wool on to the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus is upon the wood, and because they that hope on him shall live for ever. But wherefore the wool withal and the hyssop? Because in his kingdom there shall be *days evil and corrupt, in which*

* According to the Mishnah (*Foma* VI. 1), it was right, though not absolutely necessary, that the goats should be alike, and of equal value.

† Three good gifts gave the Holy One to Israel, Torah, the Land of Israel, and the World to come, and not one of them but through affliction (*T. B. Berak. 5 a*).

we shall be saved; because he that aileth in the flesh is healed by the corruption of the hyssop."

Thus he illustrates the saying of the *Teaching*, taking the curse now concretely, and now in the abstract. The "Accursed One" (Gal. iii. 13) will be found to be men's King and Saviour; and it is in evil days that they will win salvation, and through "filth" and corruption that they must be healed.

9. *The Teaching and the Canon.*

Canon of
New Test.

I will now touch lightly on the difficult question of the bearing of the *Didaché* on the Canon of the New Testament.

The greater part of chapter i. is cited freely without acknowledgment from the Sermon on the Mount; and the baptismal formula is given (chap. vii.) as in Matt. xxviii. 19, but without reference to the Gospel. On the other hand, the Lord's Prayer is ordered to be used "as the Lord commanded in his Gospel"; whilst the precept, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs*, is introduced simply as a saying of the Lord (chap. ix.). The Eucharistic prayers have several points of contact with St John's Gospel.

The apostles and prophets are to be received according to the command of the Gospel; and the penultimate section of the manual concludes with the general admonition to act in all things "as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord". The last chapter of all covers more or less the same ground as the eschatological portions of the Gospel and other parts of the New Testament, but makes no reference thereto.

The correspondences of the *Teaching* with ^{Fourth Gospel} St John's Gospel, however striking, are such as to leave it quite an open question whether the latter had been written when the manual was composed. This is commonly thought to have borrowed here and there from St Luke; it has to all appearance no reference to St Mark; but so much in common with St Matthew that it has been said: "It is certain that the writer knew the Gospel of St Matthew; and we have here an important confirmation of the views of those who, following the church tradition, hold that this was the earliest of all the Gospels." Nevertheless he quotes with such independence in some particulars, that we may

fairly doubt whether his recension of the First Gospel was altogether identical with our own.

Thus, in chapter I., we find a form of the Golden Rule which is not contained in the extant Gospel according to St Matthew; although in the *Ecclesiastical Canons* (p. 19) it is put into the mouth of that Evangelist. Is it indeed cited as part of the Gospel teaching? or is this a case in which the compiler of the manual prefers to draw from some extraneous source?

The Lord's Prayer, in chapter VIII., may possibly be given on the authority of an oral tradition; as likewise the saying, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs*. For this too, like the saying in Acts xx. 35, which is not found in any Gospel, is introduced merely as something which *the LORD said*. On the other hand the injunction, "So do *as ye have* in the Gospel of our Lord" (chap. xv.), is best interpreted as an appeal to the authority of a document. But the description of the three Signs of the Truth, while in substantial agreement with Matt. xxiv. 30, 31, differs therefrom so completely and in such a way that it seems to rest in part on an

independent tradition. In *Apost. Const.* VII. 32 the *Teaching* is assimilated to the Gospel.

Although its enumeration of the three signs may also be harmonised with 1 Thess. iv. 16, ^{1 Thess. not used} the *Teaching* can scarcely have borrowed from the Epistle; but if either drew directly from the other, it would be fair to contend that the writer of the Epistle had resolved the Hebraism, "voice of a trumpet," into, "the voice of the archangel and the trump of God," and that the *Teaching* was accordingly the older.

On the whole we may conjecture that our manual draws partly from a documentary Gospel or Gospels, and partly from an oral tradition, which still survived and was held in high esteem at the time when the *Teaching* was written down. Some peculiarities in its first chapter may point to actual various readings in the Gospel, or may be due to the same cause as the inexactness of its citations from the Old Testament; but when we go back to the short recension of the Two Ways (p. 22), the evidence for a written Gospel rests mainly on an inference from the saying, "So do *as ye have* in the Gospel of our Lord."

The *Teaching* has no express citations from the Apostolic Epistles; but neither was it to be expected that a document of this character would allege any but the supreme authority of the GOSPEL or the LORD.

10. *Conclusion.*

The oral
Teaching

The primitive Church had, instead of a New Testament, a body of teaching which was at first, from the nature of the case, wholly unwritten. To this St Paul alludes when he lays down that a bishop must be blameless, "holding to the faithful word which is according to *The Teaching*" (Tit. i. 9). Justin Martyr again expressly refers to it, speaking of Christ as attested, "by the words of *The Teaching*, and the prophecies prophesied to him ward" (*Dial.* 35). This teaching would sometimes be spoken of as the Lord's, and after a while as the Apostles' (2 John 9; Acts ii. 42); just as the Jews spoke of a Torah absolutely, and of a Torah of Moses, and of the Lord. Our written *Didaché* is named the Teaching or Teachings "of the Apostles" by a succession of writers from Eusebius to Nicephorus. There

is no proof that it was originally ascribed to "The Twelve", and the presumption is that the longer form of title would be the later, as in the case of the Acts "of the Holy Apostles".

Justin claims to have received the original Teaching; and he clearly refers his mystic interpretations of the ancient Scriptures to the Lord himself, whom he styles, "our Teacher and Exegete of the prophecies not understood" (*Apol.* I. 32). The true original teaching of course took its rise in Palestine, and it was developed more or less round about Ephesus after the destruction of Jerusalem. If Justin was born in Samaria towards the end of the first century, and if the scene of his *Dialogue* with Trypho was Ephesus, he is not likely to have mistaken an Alexandrine for the original Palestinian *Didaché*. We have shewn reason to think that he knew the substance of our *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, as part of the larger tradition which he had received.

Turning next to the *Epistle* of Barnabas, we find him introducing his exposition of the Two Ways thus: "Let us pass on to yet another *Knowledge* and *Teaching*. There are two ways

of Teaching and Authority... The Knowledge then that is given unto us to walk in (the way of light) is on this wise." The former *Gnosis* (as has been truly remarked) consisted in an inner knowledge of the Old Testament. From this he passes on to rules of morality, in both cases doubtless resting on an authoritative tradition. He must have inherited the same canons of interpretation of prophecy as Justin; and his other "Knowledge and Teaching" is all contained in our *Didaché*, of which he explains or illustrates the most obscure passages, and omits only what he might have been expected to omit. He was even acquainted, possibly, with a *written* form of the doctrine of the Two Ways; for he has this still in mind throughout the following chapter (xxi.), which commences, "It is well then that, having learned the ordinances of the Lord, *as many as are written*, one should walk in them." Doubtless he alludes here to the ancient Scriptures, but not necessarily to the exclusion of the "commandments of *The Teaching*", which he joins in another place also with the "wisdom of the ordinances" (chap. xvi.).

Written
Διδαχή

Hermas likewise seems to have been acquainted with the *Didaché*, including perhaps even the interpolated major part of its first chapter; for an apparent trace of the saying, *Let thine alms sweat &c.*, has been found in the *Shepherd* (p. 18). Was this saying by any possibility in the mind of Barnabas, when he wrote the words, *toil and sweat* (p. 105), in his tenth chapter? In chapter XIX. of his *Epistle* there is a reading which brings together sayings now found in chapters I. and IV. of the *Teaching*: "Thou shalt not doubt whether to give, neither shalt thou grudge when thou givest. *To every one that asketh of thee give.*" Notice herein his verbal agreement with Hermas, who writes that one should not *doubt*, but *give to all* (p. 17). Let thine
alms sweat

The opinion that the *Teaching* was com-^{Egypt}posed in Egypt rests in great measure upon the theory, not now so generally accepted as heretofore, that the *Epistle* of Barnabas was one of its sources. The shorter form of doxology, which it appends to the Lord's Prayer and other prayers, points (I think) to its early date, and not to its Egyptian origin. In the Sahidic Version also, the doxology, it is true, consists of

two terms, *power* and *strength* only, and omits "the kingdom"; but a closer parallel is afforded by 1 Tim. vi. 16, *To whom be honour and might eternal*. There is no reason to think that a special doxology was originally formulated for use solely with the Lord's Prayer. Notice, by way of parallel, that the doxology to be said after the thanksgivings in the *Teaching* is found time after time in a different context in the New Testament*. The inappropriateness of the allusion, "scattered *upon the mountains*," in a manual assumed to be of Egyptian origin has been already pointed out (p. 72).

Sowing upon the mountains suits no place better than northern Palestine. If the *Teaching* took its final form in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, this would indeed account *inter alia* for the use apparently made of it by Justin Martyr. But Justin may have known it through his early connexion with Flavia Neapolis.

It remains to say a word on the uses of the method of illustration from the Talmud, which

* $\phi \eta \delta \acute{o} \xi \alpha \epsilon \iota \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \varsigma \alpha \iota \omega \nu \alpha \varsigma \dots$ (Gal. i. 5). On the Sahidic doxology ($\dots \eta \delta \acute{\upsilon} \nu \alpha \mu \iota \varsigma \kappa . \eta \iota \sigma \chi \acute{\upsilon} \varsigma \kappa . \tau . \lambda .$), see Harnack's *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel* pp. 26, and *Prolegom.* 169.

was used with such effect by the learned Dr John Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* on the New Testament, upwards of two centuries ago.

Hebraic
character
of docu-
ment

“First (writes he), when all the books of the New Testament were written by Jews, and among Jews, and unto them; and when all the discourses made there were made in like manner by Jews, and to Jews, and among them; I was always fully persuaded, as of a thing past all doubting, that that Testament could not but everywhere taste of and retain the Jews’ style, idiom, form, and rule of speaking. And hence, in the second place, I concluded as assuredly that, in the obscurer places of that Testament (which are very many), the best and most natural method of searching out the sense is to inquire how, and in what sense, those phrases and manners of speech were understood, according to the vulgar and common dialect and opinion of that nation; and how they took them, by whom they were spoken, and by whom they were heard. For it is no matter what we can beat out concerning those manners of speech on the anvil of our own conceit, but what they signified among them, in their

ordinary sense and speech. And since this could be found out no other way than by consulting Talmudic authors, who both speak in the vulgar dialect of the Jews, and also handle and reveal all Jewish matters; being induced by these reasons, I applied myself chiefly to the reading of these books."

a proof of
early date

There is also another use of such illustrations in a case like that of our newly discovered document. Everything which goes to confirm its Jewish character has a bearing on the question of its date. If it is derived immediately from Jewish sources, it must either have emanated from a mere sect, which long preserved its Hebraic peculiarities, or it must have come down to us from the primitive age in which Christianity had but just separated itself from the parent stock of Judaism. The former alternative must be rejected, if at an early date we find it quoted with profound respect beyond the pale of Judaism; and we are thus finally led to regard it, in whatever may be its original form, as a genuine fragment of the earliest tradition of the Church,

ENGLISH TEXT
OF THE TEACHING
WITH NOTES

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

OTHERWISE CALLED

THE TEACHING OF THE LORD BY THE TWELVE
APOSTLES TO THE GENTILES.

THERE are two ways, one of life and one of death; Chap. I.
and there is much difference between the two ways.
Now the way of life is this: First, thou shalt love
God that made thee; Secondly, thy neighbour as thy-
5 self; And all things whatsoever thou wouldest should
not happen to thee, neither do thou to another.

The teaching of these words is this:

7 *is this]* *Thou shalt not murder* (line 33), follows immediately in
the short recension. To the arguments in its favour (pp. 21, 49) add
that, the precepts on almsgiving in chap. iv. being of the pre-Christian
type, the Gospel precepts, *Give to every one that asketh &c.*, do not come
naturally before them. See lines 19, 286. To the external evidence it
might be objected, that the *Ecclesiastical Canons* shew a trace of the
saying, *Let thine alms sweat* (p. 14), and may have omitted, *Bless them*
that curse you &c., as words not originally spoken by one of the
Twelve; and that von Gebhardt's Latin fragment, with its inverted
order of commandments, *Non mæchaberis, non homicidium facies*
(p. 20), may have been assimilated to Rom. xiii. 8—10.

Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast ye for them that persecute you.
 10 For what thank have ye if ye love them that love you? do not even the Gentiles the same? but do ye love them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts. If any man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If any impress thee one mile, go with him twain. If any take away thy cloke, give him thy coat also. If any take from thee that is thine, ask it not back; for neither canst thou. Give to every one that asketh
 20 of thee, and ask not back; for the Father wills that to all men there be given of our own free gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is blameless. Woe to him that receiveth; for if indeed any man receives, having need, he shall be blameless, but he that had not need shall give account, wherefore he received and for what; and being in durance he shall be examined touching the things that he did, and he shall not come forth thence till he have paid the uttermost farthing. But

9 *fast ye for*] This reading has the appearance of great antiquity. Compare Esth. iv. 16, *And fast ye for me*; Ps. xxxv. 13. "Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both" (ps.-Clem. R. 16).

11 *Gentiles*] Compare the title, *Teaching...to the Gentiles*.

13 *bodily*] In *Apost. Const.* VII. 1 the reading is "*cosmic* lusts". This phrase is found also in Tit. ii. 12 and ps.-Clem. R. 17.

15 *perfect*] *Thou shalt be perfect* (line 137). Counsels of perfection come prematurely at the beginning of the Two Ways.

19 *Give*] *If one say, Give, ye shall not hearken* (line 238).

30 further concerning this it hath been said, *Let thine alms sweat into thine hands, till thou know to whom to give.*

And the second commandment of the teaching is: Chap. II.

Thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt youths, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not play the sorcerer, thou shalt not use witchcraft, thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, neither put to death one that is born. Thou shalt not covet the things that are thy neighbour's, thou shalt not
40 forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not bear malice. Thou shalt not be of two minds, neither double tongued; for to be double tongued is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false: not vain, but fulfilled by deed. Thou shalt not be grasping, neither rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malignant, nor overbearing. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not hate any man; but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray,
50 and some thou shalt love more than thy life.

31 *sweat*] ιδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. The form ιδρωτάω not being found elsewhere, Bryennios proposed to read ιδρωσάτω, from ιδρόω. The same two kinds of almsgiving as in this chapter are spoken of in *Sib. Orac.* II., ὧν σοι ἔδωκε θεός κ.τ.λ. (89), and ιδρώσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρήζοντι παράσχου (79). Is ιδρώσι a corruption of ιδρῶ σῆ? "Sweat of sheaves" would mean, labours of the field or harvest. Mr Rendel Harris suggests στάζων, for σταχύων.

34 *corrupt youths*] παιδοφθορήσεις. This rare word is found in Justin *Dial.* 95. Cf. παῖδας διέφθειραν (*Apol.* I. 5). The saying is repeated in Barn. *Epist.* XIX.; and in his tenth chapter in the form, οὐ μὴ γένη παιδοφθόρος. See also Bryennios *in loc.*

Chap. III. My child, flee from all evil, and from all that is like to it. Be not prone to anger, for anger leads to murder; neither a zealot, nor contentious, nor passionate; for from all these things murders are begotten. My child, be not a luster, for lust leads to fornication; neither of lewd speech, nor of high looks; for from all these adulteries are begotten. My child, be not given to augury, since it leads to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a user of purifications; neither
 60 be thou willing to look thereon; for from all these idolatry is begotten. My child, be not a liar, since falsehood leads to theft; neither a lover of money, nor vainglorious; for from all these thefts are begotten. My child, be not a murmurer, since it leads to blasphemy; neither selfwilled, nor evil-minded; for from all these blasphemies are begotten.

But be thou meek; for the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering, and merciful, and harmless, and peaceable, and good, standing in awe alway of
 70 the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, neither suffer thy soul to be presumptuous. Thy soul shall not be joined with the lofty, but with the just and lowly shalt thou converse. The dispensations that befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that without God nothing comes to pass.

Chap. IV. My child, him that proclaimeth unto thee the word of God thou shalt remember night and day,

52 *like to it*] Hermas finishes up his list of evil things in *Command.* 8 with "as many things as are like to these".

73 *dispensations*] *ἐπερχήματα*. Workings or visitations which are *prima facie* evil. See the note in *Barn. Epist.* XIX., ed. Cunningham

and thou shalt honour him as the Lord; for whence the Lordship is proclaimed, there the Lord is. And
 80 thou shalt seek out day by day the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest thee on their words. Thou shalt not incline to division, but shalt set at peace them that strive. Thou shalt judge righteously. Thou shalt not have respect of persons in rebuking for transgressions. Thou shalt not be of doubtful mind, whether a thing shall be or not. Be not one that stretches out his hands to receive, but draws them in

(1877). "But peace, I must not quarrel with the will Of highest dispensation, which herein Happ'ly had ends above my reach to know." "There is some soul of goodness in things evil, Would men observingly distil it out." The saying is quoted as Scripture by Origen *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, lib. III. 2, end (Migne XI. 313): "Propterea docet nos Scriptura divina omnia quae accidunt nobis tanquam a Deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine Deo nihil fit." But he quotes perhaps from Barnabas, and not (as Thos. S. Potwin suggests) from the *Teaching*.

78 *honour*] This precept springs out of the fifth commandment, as *Apost. Const.* VII. 9 indicates by adding, οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἰτίον. It thus completes the series of sayings which commenced, "*My child*, flee from all evil;" the fifth commandment taking the place of the fifth in the second table (p. 28), as in the Gospel (Matt. xix. 19). The acquaintance of Barnabas with the precept is thus seen to imply an acquaintance with chap. III. It was not to be expected that a writer of his way of thinking would dwell upon the distinction between tendency and action, as that chapter does; but his reiterated, "be not likened... *not even* (οὐδέ) likened" to sinners (p. 34), must be a reminiscence of its ὁμολοῦν αὐτοῦ.

79 *Lordship*] ὁθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Hermas writes, of true or false prophets, in *Command.* 11: "Thus shall the Spirit of the θεότης be made manifest, &c."

85 *of doubtful mind*] See Hermas *Command.* 9; and compare *Vis.* 3. "They shall yet be revealed for the sake of the double-minded, even those who doubt in their hearts whether these things are or are not."

when he should give. If thou have in thine hands thou shalt give for ransom of thy sins. Thou shalt not
 90 hesitate to give, neither shalt thou grudge when thou givest ; for thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt not turn aside from him that needeth, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own ; for if ye are fellow-sharers in that which is imperishable, how much more in the things that are perishable.

Thou shalt not take away thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth up thou
 100 shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not give commandment to thy bondman or maidservant, that hope on the same God, in thy bitterness, lest they fear not him that is God over you both ; for he cometh, not to call with respect of persons, but to them whom the Spirit hath prepared. And ye, servants, shall be subject to your masters as to an image of God, in shamefacedness and fear.

Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and all that is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt not forsake the
 110 commandments of the Lord ; but shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away.

108 *Thou shalt hate*] Barnabas first quotes this saying a little after the command to love God ; but he repeats it in the short form, *ἐς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ (not τὸν) πονηρόν*, in his peroration to the way of "light". In the one place he adds, *Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord*, and in the other he prefixes, *Thou shalt keep what thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away* ; thus attaching it in each case to a moiety of the saying which next follows in the *Teaching*.

In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions; and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

But the way of death is this. First of all it is Chap. V. evil and full of curse. Murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, sorceries, witchcrafts, ravensings, false witnessings, hypocrisies, doubleness of heart, guile, arrogance, malice, selfwill, greed, 120 impure speech, jealousy, presumption, haughtiness, braggery. Persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to that which is good neither to just judgment, watchful not unto that which is good but unto that which is evil, far from whom are meekness and patience, loving vain things, following after reward, not pitying the poor man, not travailing for him that is distressed, not knowing him that made them, slayers of children, destroyers of God's work- 130 manship, turning aside from him that is in need, distressing him that is afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, altogether sinful. May ye be delivered, children, from all these.

Take heed lest any make thee to err from this Chap. VI. way of teaching, seeing he teacheth thee not according to God. For if indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect. But if thou art not able, do what thou canst. And

112 *In the congregation*] Barnabas here characteristically omits *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. But he quotes from the Psalms, *ἐξομολογήσομαι σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κ.τ.λ.*, in his sixth chapter.

concerning food, bear what thou art able; but beware
140 exceedingly of that which is sacrificed to idols; for it
is a service of dead gods.

Chap. VII. And as touching baptism, thus baptize ye: When
ye have first recited all these things, baptize unto the
name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
Ghost, in living water. But if thou have not living
water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not
in cold, then in warm. And if thou have not either,
pour forth water thrice upon the head, unto the
name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost. And
150 before the baptism let the baptizer and him that is to
be baptized and such others as are able first fast;
but thou shalt bid him that is to be baptized fast one
or two days before.

Chap. VIII. But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for
they fast on the second day of the week and on the
fifth; but ye shall fast the fourth day and the pre-
paration. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites; but as
the Lord commanded in his Gospel, thus pray ye:

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy
160 *name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, in earth*
as it is in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread;
And forgive us our debt, as we forgive our debtors;
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from
evil. For thine is the power and the glory for ever.

Thrice in the day thus pray ye.

Chap. IX. And as touching the *feast of Thanksgiving*, thus
give ye thanks:

First, concerning the cup, We thank thee, O our

Father, for the holy vine of David thy child, which
 170 thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus.
 Thine be the glory for ever. And concerning the
 broken bread, We thank thee, O our Father, for the
 life and knowledge which thou hast made known to
 us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever.
 As this broken bread was once scattered *in grains*
 upon the mountains, and being gathered together

169 *David*] According to *T. B. Pesach*. 119 *b*, the cup is finally received by David, and he pronounces the benediction over it, after it has been declined by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Joshua. "What means the Scripture, *And the child grew, and was weaned* (וינמל), and *Abraham made a great feast* (Gen. xxi. 8)? It means that the Holy One will make a feast for the righteous, in the day that his mercy shall be *requited* to the seed of Isaac. After they have eaten and drunk, they will offer the cup of blessing to our father Abraham, to pronounce the benediction." He will decline, because Ishmael was among his descendants. Isaac, because of Esau. Jacob, because he married two sisters while both were living, which the Law was going to forbid. Moses, because he had not been counted worthy to enter the Promised Land, in his life or at his death. Joshua, because he had no son. Then it will be said to David, Take thou and bless. "And he will say to them, I will bless, and me it becometh to bless, for it is said, *I will receive the cup of salvation, and will call upon the name of the Lord*" (Ps. cxvi. 13).

174 *child*] παῖς. This word, in the Gospel (Matt. xii. 18), designates Jesus as the Servant of the Lord, with reference to Is. xlii. 1; and the rendering, "Jesus thy *Servant*," is *prima facie* preferable in the *Teaching*. But the same phrase in the *De Virginitate* (p. 72) and the patristic writings generally would mean, "Jesus thy Son." As "father" is one of the titles of a master (2 Kings v. 13), its correlative "child" may be allowed to connote "servant", where the context requires it. Compare Mal. iii. 17; Gal. iv. 1. The use of the name JESUS by itself is a mark of antiquity. On line 179 see note.

175 *scattered*] Compare in Joh. xi. 52, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν.

176 *mountains*] Sowing upon the mountain tops, ἐπάνω των

became one ; so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom. For thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ 180 for ever.

And let none eat or drink of your *feast of Thanksgiving*, but such as have been baptized in the name of the Lord ; for concerning this the Lord hath said, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs.*

Chap. X. And after being filled, thus give ye thanks :

We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for *δρέων*, is appropriate to Palestine, but not to Egypt. See Ps. lxxii. 16: "There shall be a spread of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains ; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon : and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." This illustrates also the symbolism of the *Teaching* ; and the psalm is likewise of the class Messianic. See Jennings and Lowe *in loc.* Compare Joel iii. 18 ; Amos ix. 13 ; 1 Kings xxii. 17 ; Nahum iii. 18.

179 *through Jesus Christ*] The parallel in *Apost. Const.* VII. 25, runs thus, δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ σοι καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, the doxology in this form being led up to by an interpolated passage relating to "Jesus Christ". The expression ἡ δύναμις must have fallen out before the καί. Supplying this, transposing δύναμις and δόξα in the *Teaching*, and omitting διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, we have for the prayer-doxology in all cases, ὅτι σοὺ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (lines 164, 179, 201). This form is retained in the *De Virginitate* (p. 72).

185 *filled*] "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover...of the flock and the herd" (Deut. xvi. 2). Why not of the flock only (Exod. xii.)? The בֶּקָר, writes Rashi, was for the *chagigah*. When this feast was joined with the Passover, "It was eaten first, that the Passover might be eaten עַל הַשֶּׁבַע, after being filled" (*T. B. Pesach. 70a*). Thus the *chagigah* was like the *agapé*, which once preceded the Eucharist.

187 *in our hearts*] The heart is the "place" in which the Name dwells (p. 74), a true *naós*, or spiritual temple. This is the theme of Barnabas in his chap. xvi.: "The one central temple is wholly done away...each man's heart became a temple" (Rendall), which was built ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine
 190 be the glory for ever. Thou, O Almighty Sovereign, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and gavest men food and drink to enjoy, that they might give thanks unto thee; but to us thou didst graciously give spiritual food and drink and life eternal, through thy child. Before all things we give thanks to thee for that thou art mighty. Thine is the glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, thy church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in thy love; and gather her together from the four winds, her that is
 200 sanctified unto thy kingdom which thou didst prepare for her. For thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy let him come; if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.

But suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as pleaseth them.

Whosoever therefore shall come and teach you all Chap. XI.
 these things aforesaid, receive ye him. But if he

196 *for that thou art mighty*] The text has, ...ὅτι δυνατὸς εἰ σὺ· ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ. For this read, ...ὅτι δυνατὸς εἰ· σοῦ (not σοί) ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. "We give thee thanks...because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned" (Rev. xi. 17).

207 *as pleaseth them*] ὅσα θέλουσιν. According to Justin (*Apol.* i. 67), πανσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, the presiding minister offers prayers and thanksgivings "to the best of his ability". See Otto's notes. The phrase, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, is very suggestive of the *Didaché* (lines 19, 136—9, 146). As to early liturgical forms, see also Clem. R. 41, and Wordsworth's note on ταῖς προσευχαῖς in Acts ii. 42.

210 that teacheth, being himself perverted, teach other doctrine to the annulling thereof, hearken not to him; but if to the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive ye him as the Lord.

And as touching the apostles and prophets, according to the command of the Gospel, so do ye. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. And he shall remain one day, and if there be need the second also; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle departs
220 let him take naught, save provision of bread till he be lodged. But if he ask for money, he is a false prophet. And ye shall not tempt neither judge of any prophet speaking in the Spirit; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. Yet not every one that speaks in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the manners of the Lord. By their manners therefore shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And no prophet ordering a table in the Spirit shall eat of it; or if he do, he is
230 a false prophet. And every prophet teaching the truth, if he doeth not what he teaches, is a false prophet. And every approved true prophet, doing

211 *other doctrine*] "He that abideth in the teaching, the same hath both the Father and the Son. If any cometh unto you, and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not..." (2 Joh. 9, 10).

229 *a table*] Compare St Chrysostom's *κοινὰς δὲ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τραπέζας ἐν ἡμέραις νενομισμέναις* (p. 95), and see on 2 Peter and Jude, p. 99.

whatsoever it be for an earthly sign of a mystery of the church, but not teaching to do what things he himself doeth, shall not be judged of you, seeing his judgment is with God; for even so likewise did the prophets of old time. And if one say in the Spirit, Give me monies, or whatsoever else, ye shall not hearken to him; but if he bid you give, in behalf
 240 of others that lack, let none judge him.

And whosoever cometh in the name of the Lord, ^{Chap. XII.} let him be received; and then when ye have proved him ye shall know him, for ye shall have understanding of right and left. If so be he that cometh is a wayfarer, help him as much as ye are able; but he shall not tarry with you, save two or three days if there be necessity. But if he willeth to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work and eat. And if he hath not a craft, according to your understanding
 250 provide that, being not idle, he shall live with you as a Christian. And if he willeth not so to do, he is one that makes gain of Christ. Beware of such.

234 *but not teaching*] ποιῶν ἐν μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, "Doing *whatsoever things he doeth*..., provided he teach not to do the things that he himself doeth." Connect ποιῶν ὅσα ποιεῖ (p. 91). A "cosmic mystery" is the manifestation in the phenomenal world of a "mystery of the upper world", a רִזְיָן דְּעֵלְמָא עֲלָאָה, in the language of the Zohar (Exod. fol. 90 b, end). Compare, a few lines later: "On this אֲנִי depend mysteries of above and below, רִזְיָן עֲלָאָה וְתַתָּא." —

237 *of old time*] οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται, as in Luke ix. 8, 19. Things were done of old ἐν μυστήριον Χριστοῦ (p. 91), which might not be done except ἐν μυστήριον, so that they err who say of acts of the patriarchs, μὴδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας (Justin *Dial.* 134). —

252 *that makes gain of Christ*] χριστέμπορος. The same contrast

Chap.
XIII.

And every true prophet that willeth to settle among you is worthy of his food. So likewise a true teacher is also worthy, like the workman, of his food. Every firstfruit therefore of the produce of press and floor, of oxen and sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your chief priests. And if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor. If thou
260 make a baking of bread, take the firstfruits and give according to the commandment. So likewise when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the firstfruits and give to the prophets. And of silver and raiment and of every possession, take the firstfruits, as shall seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

Chap.
XIV.

And on each Lord's day of the Lord be ye gathered together and break bread and give thanks; after confessing your transgressions, that our sacrifice may be pure. And let none that hath a difference
270 with his fellow come together with you until they be reconciled, that our sacrifice be not defiled. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord, *In every place*

reappears in ps.-Ignat. *Trall.* 6, οὐ χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι. Notice the use of "Christian" in a good sense in the *Teaching*; which however is no proof that it had ceased to be used as a term of reproach by those without (1 Pet. iv. 16).

272 *place and time*] This reading of the *Didaché* in Mal. i. 11 is unique. Neither in the original nor in later patristic citations of it is there any mention of *time*; while the Targum (omitting *place*) reads 'ובכל עידן כו', "And at every time that ye do my pleasure I will receive your prayer, and my great name shall be sanctified at your hands, and your prayers shall be as a pure offering before me...", as a paraphrase of, 'ובכל מקום מקטיר כו'. Notice in the Book of Common Prayer: "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee."

and time offer me a pure sacrifice; For I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name wonderful among the Gentiles.

Elect therefore unto yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not loving money, and truthful and approved; for unto you do they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.
 280 Despise them not therefore; for they are they that are set in honour among you with the prophets and teachers. And reprove ye one another, not in wrath but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel. And with any that erreth against his brother let none speak, nor let him hear a word from you, until he repent. And your prayers and alms and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.

Chap.
XV.

Watch for your life. Let your lamps be not quenched, nor the girdle of your loins loosed, but be
 290 ye ready; for ye know not the hour wherein our

Chap.
XVI.

276 *Elect*] *Look ye out men of good report, whom we may appoint* (Acts vi. 3). According to Clem. R. 42—4, the apostles preached round about the country and the towns, and appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons; and they made permanent provision for the appointment of other "approved" men in succession to these, *συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*.

280 *Despise them not*] *Let no man despise thee* (Tit. ii. 15). Compare Matt. xiii. 57. Clem. R. 44 contains a practical comment on this: "Them therefore that were appointed by (the apostles) or afterwards by other persons of repute, with the consent of the whole church, ...we deem to have been wrongfully cast out from their ministry. For it is no small sin to us, if we cast out such as have blamelessly and holily offered the oblations (δῶρα) of the episcopate."

281 *set in honour*] *τετιμημένοι*. "For we see that ye have removed some that were honourably doing their duty, *ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας*" (Clem. R. 44).

Lord cometh. Be ye oftentimes gathered together, seeking the things pertaining to your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, if at the last season ye be not perfected. For in the last days the false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned to wolves, and love shall be turned to hate. For when iniquity increaseth, they shall hate and persecute and deliver up one another. And then shall the deceiver of the world
 300 appear, as Son of God; and he shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do unlawful things, which have never been from everlasting. Then shall mankind come into the furnace of trial, and many shall be offended and perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the very curse.

And then shall appear the signs of the truth: The first the sign of a *cross* spread out in heaven; next the sign of the voice of a trumpet; and the
 310 third a resurrection of the dead: yet not of all, but as it is said, *The Lord shall come and all his saints with him*. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

On the many grains united in the *κλάσμα* (p. 71), see the passage cited from Cyprian in *Studia Biblica* p. 95 (Oxford 1885): "Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum⁷ appellat de botruis atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum." Compare *Fragm.* IV. of Papias (ed. Routh).

